A report on the current attitudes and experiences of Hong Kong police officers

Professor Ben Bradford and Dr Julia Yesberg

2nd December 2019

Contents

Executive Summary

This report provides details on research conducted with the Hong Kong Police Force during October 2019. This research was commissioned and managed by the Hong Kong Independent Police Complaints Council (IPCC) and conducted by the report authors, both of whom are based at University College London. The key aims were to provide insight into the current experiences, ideas, attitudes and perceptions of front-line police officers in Hong Kong, many of whom have been dealing with the recent public order events (POEs). This report to the IPCC is intended to help it develop ways to work with the police and others to mitigate any adverse impacts arising from officers' experiences of recent events.

To meet these aims, we conducted an on-line survey and carried out in-depth interviews and focus groups with officers. It is important at the outset to acknowledge that these methods only enable us to assess officers' attitudes, ideas and perceptions, rather than either their own behaviour or the objective reality of events they report experiencing. As a result, the findings of this study are merely indicative of what a sample of Hong Kong police officers are thinking at this moment in time: how they are experiencing their work, their relationships with superiors, other officers and the public; and how these experiences correlate with outcomes such as job satisfaction, stress, and the ways they think police work should be conducted.

The key findings from this research are summarised below:

- Respondents held generally positive attitudes toward members of the public and were positive about the importance of having good police-public relations. However, officers felt a greater sense of distance from the protestors when compared with the general public, particularly from those identified as violent protestors
- Respondents spoke about the longer working hours and higher workload they have experienced during the POEs, with those on the front-line being particularly affected
- A specifically 'police' identity was important to most respondents, who felt a strong sense of identification with police as a social group or category
- Officers tended to have a very positive experience of peer support and felt the recent events had made relationships within the organisation stronger. Officers' opinions of their immediate supervisors also tended to be positive
- However, although officers had a generally favourable perception of the procedural fairness of their supervisors, their perception of distributive justice (i.e. the fairness of rewards and work allocations) was much less positive
- Respondents had mixed views on their work related to the POEs. The majority were positive about how the force had handled the POEs, but only a minority felt it had done its best to deal with the pressures these events have placed on officers

- Officers tended to think the use of force that had been used by police throughout the POEs was reasonable, justified and proportionate to the situation. Only a minority agreed they had been ordered to engage in policing activity that made them feel uncomfortable
- Respondents had a relatively strong, but by no means overwhelming, sense of their own legitimacy. The majority felt confident in the authority vested in them, but they were less clear about their ability to assert their authority
- Most respondents felt it was important to treat members of the public in a procedurally just way; however, there was some ambiguity in their responses, possibly because the questions posed to them lacked context
- Job satisfaction among officers was generally high, but so too were levels of stress and negative emotional states. The qualitative interviews indicate this stress stemmed from a number of different sources, including: the longer working hours and exhaustion; having less time to spend with family and friends; on-the-job stress; and worry about their own and their family's safety
- Use of force and experiences of injury, time spent policing the POEs, and feeling over-worked, had very weak correlations with outcome measures such as self-legitimacy, cynicism and police identity. Much more important were the relationships officers experience within the police organisation, but also with the people they police
- Similarly, the experience of policing the POEs had relatively little effect on outcomes for officers such as stress, their self-assessed commitment to democratic policing, and job satisfaction. The most important predictors were the relationships they had with those they police and, particularly, their peers, supervisors and the police organisation as a whole. When these relationships were positive, stress tended to be lower, job satisfaction higher, and, to an extent, commitment to procedural justice in policing stronger

Taken as a whole, this research indicates two quite distinct sets of interpretations. On the one hand, policing the POEs, and the surrounding political events, has clearly had an effect on the officers who took part in the study. Levels of stress are high, and many clearly feel an antagonistic relationship with protestors, particularly those defined as violent. On the other hand, the online survey reveals relatively little evidence that policing the POEs has led to declines in self-legitimacy, job satisfaction, stress, or other outcomes. Rather, it is officers' experience of organisational justice, their relationships with their peers, and their understanding of what 'the public' thinks of the police that emerge as the most important factors shaping the way they think about themselves and their work as police officers.

Introduction

This report provides details on research conducted with the Hong Kong Police Force during October 2019. This research was commissioned and managed by the IPCC and conducted by the report authors, both of whom are based at University College London. The purpose of this study was to gather the views of police officers who have been dealing with the changing political, policy and civil environment in Hong Kong during the political unrest triggered by controversy over the Extradition Bill. The key aims were to: (a) provide insight into the self-reported perceptions of the front-line police force; and (b) identify ways in which the IPCC can work with the police force to mitigate against any adverse impacts.

To address these aims, we developed a survey instrument and qualitative interview schedule that tapped into the following aspects of front-line officers' attitudes, perceptions and understandings:

- Relationships with demonstrators and the wider public
- Relationships with colleagues and superiors
- Confidence in their ability and authority as police officers
- Commitment to the ideals of democratic policing and procedural justice
- Self-reported stress, job satisfaction and related issues

1. Background

The Hong Kong Police Force has a strength of about 34,000, of which:

- 10,000 are civilian staff (clerks, secretaries, IT, communications, engineers)
- 14,000 are uniformed police in front-line police work, out of which about 2,000 are in Marine (Harbour and Hong Kong waters) patrol duties
- 10,000 are uniformed police in back office support jobs (administering stations, manning signals, forensic backup, processing arrestees, ordnance disposal, planning and administration, public relations, internal investigations and complaints office).

The recent events in Hong Kong have placed huge demands on police officers. Since 1 July 2019, front-line police have been required to work a 12-hour shift. In practice, this means there are approximately 7,000 police on front-line duty at any one time. The bulk of this front-line force are currently involved in station defence and the rest are on call to perform anti-riot duties. In addition to the increased hours and heavier workload, police officers and their families have reported being subject to bullying and harassment, and a number of police officers have been wounded on their way to and from work, as well as during the demonstrations themselves (see Section 3.2 below).

These issues seem *prima facie* likely to be linked to increased levels of stress, declining job satisfaction, and other negative outcomes for the officers involved. Yet, deterioration in the relationship between police and public, the challenging duties officers are being asked to perform, and the way they think the Hong Kong Police Force has been dealing with these issues, may also have damaged their sense of their

own legitimacy (Bradford and Quinton 2014; Tankebe 2019) and, more broadly, the way they think about themselves as police officers and the activity of policing itself.

In research contexts across the world, police officers' confidence in wielding the powers vested in them ('self-legitimacy') has been shown to be influenced by: (a) factors internal to the police organisation, such as inter-rank relationships, peer effects (Tankebe 2019), organisational justice (Bradford and Quinton 2014), and job satisfaction (Trinkner et al. 2016); and (b) their perceptions of their relationship with those they police, as well as events and publicity surrounding policing (Bradford and Quinton 2014; Nix and Wolfe 2017). In turn, self-legitimacy and related constructs have been linked to positive attitudes and behaviours, such as willingness to behave in ways aligned with democratic norms and the principles of procedural justice (Jonathan-Zamir and Harpaz 2018; Wolfe and Piquero 2011). Events and experiences that undermine officers' sense of their own legitimacy may thus undermine their willingness and ability to conduct their work in appropriate ways.

Relatedly, studies have shown that organisational justice (Colquitt, 2008; Greenberg, 2011) within police agencies – policies and practices that prioritise good internal communication, positive relationships between superiors and subordinates, fair allocations of resources and workloads, and a sense of respect and dignity in employment – can not only generate self-legitimacy but also have an independent effect on multiple outcomes, including those outlined above. Moreover, experiencing organisational justice at work may offset or mitigate 'on-the-job' pressures, problems and even injuries (e.g. Bullock and Garland 2019; Wolfe et al. 2018), partly because organisational justice indicates to employees that their employer supports them and is willing to work with them to deal with the problems and pressures they face.

A key argument in the organisational justice literature is that the experience of fairness at work bolsters positive identification with the organisation. Identification in turn provides a mechanism linking organisational justice with outcomes such as rule compliance, extra-role activity, and adherence to institutional norms. Naturally, other mechanisms may also be in play – officers may model fair treatment they receive from superiors in their own interactions 'on the street', for example. Nevertheless, the argument is that people are more inclined to follow the rules, and work towards the goals, of organisations that treat them fairly, at least in part because fair treatment promotes identification with the organisation and activates a sense of responsibility and duty towards it (Blader and Tyler 2009; Tyler 2011).

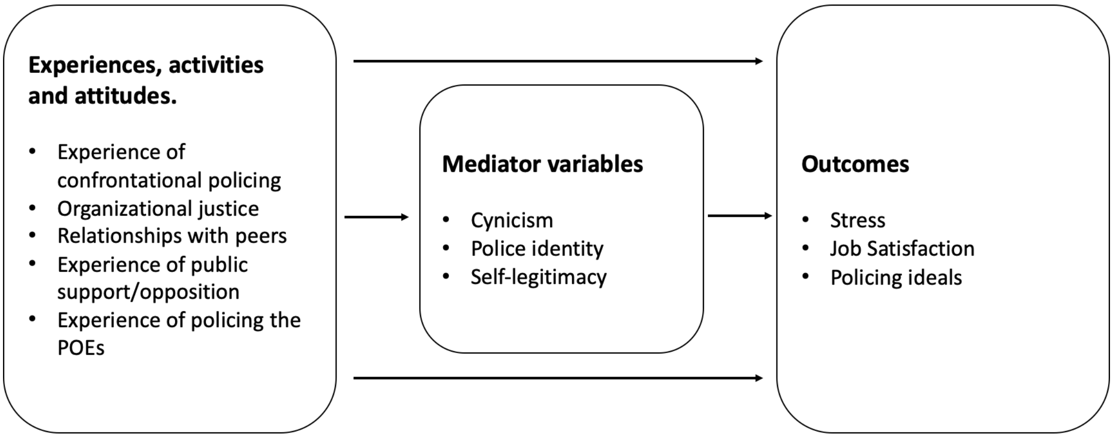
Work in policing contexts, however, stresses that police officers hold multiple identities (Bowling et al. 2019), some of which may militate against such outcomes; for example, because they foster a negative, inward looking culture that sees police work as something that is done to, rather than with, the public. Such 'negative cultural adaptations' (Bradford and Quinton 2014) have been linked to the experience of organisation *in*justice, in part precisely because such experiences push people away from positive self-classifications within the workplace.

Moreover, the relationship officers have with those they police may play an important role in all these processes. This may be particularly relevant in Hong Kong at the present point in time, as the divide between police and protestors increases and multiple fractures within the population emerge. To give the most obvious possibility, officers may have come to define themselves in opposition to those involved in the POEs, placing demonstrators into an outgroup against which a specific type of police identity emerges as particularly salient. This may have had implications for how they

think about policing the demonstrations (they may think about policing outgroups in ways quite different to how they think about policing people they consider similar to themselves).

In short, there is much to suggest that as well as their experiences on the job, police officers' understandings of their relationships with others (peers, superiors, external stakeholders and 'the public') can have significant effects on their ability to do their job, the ways they think policing can and should be done, and their physical and mental health. Figure 1 summarises these relationships, providing a conceptual map which guides much of the analysis presented below.

Figure 1: Conceptual map



2. Methodology

To explore these issues, we conducted a survey and carried out in-depth interviews and focus groups with Hong Kong police officers. The survey was administered online between 21 and 28 October 2019. The survey questions were presented in both English and Chinese. The survey was sent out to 1,500 police officers and a total of 485 officers completed the survey (a response rate of 32%).[1] Table 1 presents the characteristics of the survey sample.

Table 1: Survey sample characteristics

Characteristic	
Age	M=35.3, SD=9.4 (range 21-56)
Gender	
Male	86.4% (n=419)
Female	13.6% (n=66)
Rank	
PC/SPC	74.4% (n=361)
SGT/SSGT	19.5% (n=95)
IP-CSP	6.0% (n=29)
Length of service	
< 1 year	5.2% (n=25)
1-5 years	34.8% (n=167)
5-10 years	12.5% (n=60)
10-20 years	14.8% (n=71)
20+ years	32.7% (n=157)

Alongside the survey, in-depth interviews were conducted with 18 police officers during the week of 28 October 2019. Interviewees varied across rank (from constable to superintendent) and specialism (e.g. front-line, marine, cyber security, criminal investigation, emergency response). In addition, two focus groups were conducted –

[1] The 1,500 officers were randomly selected by the Hong Kong police force. The report authors had no input into this process and therefore are unable to verify the randomisation procedure. Although 485 police officers completed the survey, not all officers answered every question and the sample size therefore varies across survey items. In addition, changes to the Chinese translation of some survey questions early on in data collection meant we had to exclude responses to these questions for the 67 respondents who completed the survey prior to the changes being made (see appendix tables for the total sample size for each question). The items concerned are excluded from the multivariate analysis presented in Sections 3.5 and 3.6.

one with front-line junior officers and one with people from higher ranks (seven officers per focus group) – on 1 November 2019.

The interviews and focus groups were conducted face-to-face at the Hong Kong Police Headquarters by the second author. The interviews were semi-structured, and all questions asked during the interviews were open-ended. Both focus groups and 10 of the interviews were completed with the assistance of an experienced Cantonese-English interpreter. Participation in the survey, interviews and focus groups was voluntary and participants were assured complete anonymity and confidentiality.

The limitations of the methods used in this report should be noted at the outset. Cross-sectional survey methods and qualitative interviews can provide only 'snap-shots' of opinion, and particularly in the former case are not well suited to considering processes of change. We are similarly unable to consider the question of causality, and rely merely on identification of correlations in our data that can be linked to theoretical accounts such as those provided above. Finally, and crucially, we are only able to assess officers' attitudes, ideas and perceptions, rather than either their own behaviour or the objective reality of events they report experiencing.

As such the results of this study should be taken as being purely indicative of what a sample of Hong Kong police officers are thinking at this moment in time: how they are experiencing their work as police officers, their relationships with superiors, other officers and the public, and how these experiences correlate with outcomes such as job satisfaction and stress.

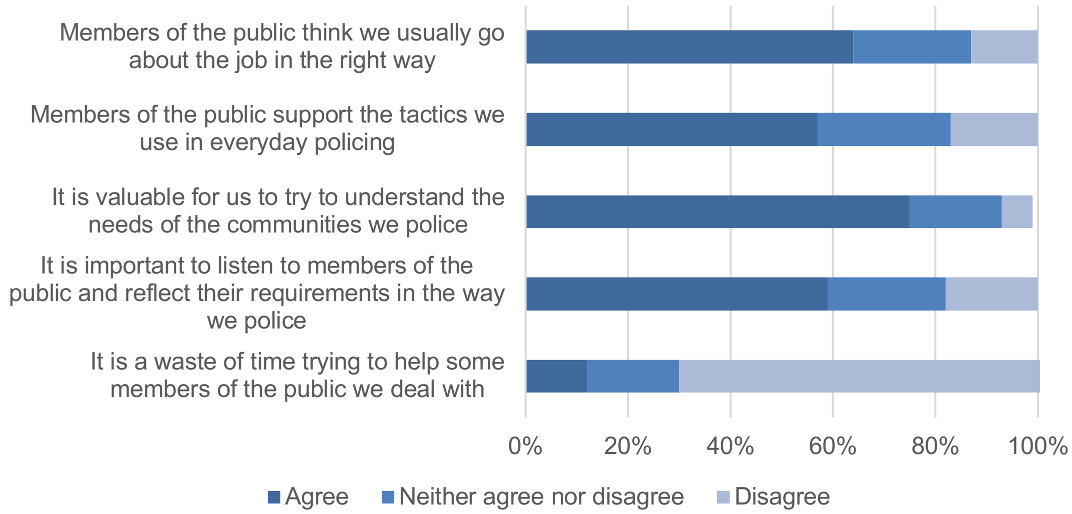
3. Findings

3.1 Experiences, activities and attitudes

3.1.1 General views on police-public relations

Five survey items probed (a) officers' general attitudes toward the public and (b) what they thought members of the public generally thought of *them.* Across all measures, views were generally positive. Results from these items are shown in Figure 2 and in Appendix Table 1. In general, respondents were positive about public support for everyday policing, although not overwhelmingly so. Only 17% disagreed that members of the public support the tactics police use during everyday police work (57% agreed), while 13% disagreed that members of the public think police go about their job in the right way (64% agreed).

Figure 2. Views on police-public relations in general
Percentages



Respondents were correspondingly positive about the importance of positive police-public relations. Just 12% agreed with the statement that 'It is a waste of time trying to help some members of the public we deal with'. Nearly three in five (59%) agreed that it is important to listen to members of the public; while three quarters (75%) agreed that it is valuable to understand the needs of communities.

Following Bradford and Quinton (2014), we combined these last three items into a scale representing 'cynical subcultural adaptation' (or simply 'cynicism' for brevity) for use in later analysis. This scale was created by taking the mean of the 3 items, resulting in a scale with properties: mean = 2.2; SD = .78; and range 1-5. The Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .67.[2] A high score on this scale therefore indicates an inward looking, negative attitude towards working with the public and aligning police

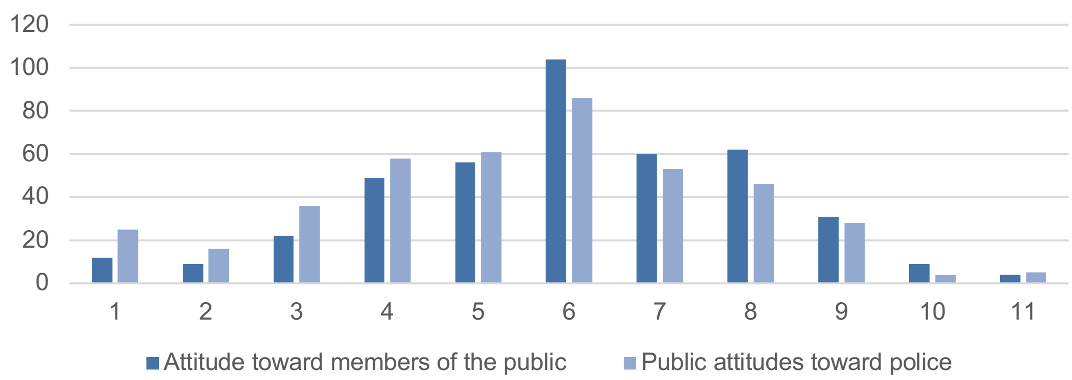
[2] Here and throughout this report scale construction proceeded initially via factor analysis. All three of these items loaded strongly onto a single factor. We use the mean scores, rather than the factor scores, for further analysis to aid interpretation (since the mean score is on the original 1 to 5 scale of the items used to create the measure of cynicism). In this case the mean score correlated with a scale extracted from exploratory factor analysis at r = .99.

work with community priorities. As the mean of this variable, and the distributions shown in Appendix Table 1, show, this type of cynical attitude was not widespread within the sample, albeit that a minority of officers did tend to feel this way.

Results from other survey items supported the idea that officers tended to experience a positive relationship with the public.[3] For example, only 19% felt that members of the public 'never' or 'rarely' told the truth when speaking to police and 23% felt people were 'never' or 'rarely' friendly toward police (see Appendix Table 2).

Finally, two further items provided an overview of officers' general views of the public, and perceptions of general public attitudes toward police (see Figure 3 and Appendix Table 3). Here, respondents were asked to provide a score on an 11 point scale anchored at 'extremely unfavourable' (1) to 'extremely favourable' (11) in relation to (a) their general attitude towards members of the public and (b) their perception of the general attitude of the public towards police. We find that both scales were strongly centred on the midpoint (6), with only a minority indicating very unfavourable or very favourable attitudes. These two items were strongly correlated (r = .71) – officers with generally positive views of the public tended to think the public felt the same way about police, and vice versa. These items can be considered indicators of the quality of the inter-group relationship between police and public, and one interpretation of these findings is that while officers did not feel particularly warm towards the public as a whole, neither did they feel a sense of great distance or coldness.

Figure 3. Perceptions of overall police-public attitudes
Numbers



During the interviews and focus groups, officers were asked for their views on police-public relations and whether they thought the recent public order events (POEs) had affected these relationships. Most interviewees felt that, historically, the Hong Kong police have generally been on good terms with members of the public. However, there were mixed views about whether the recent POEs had affected these relations. Some interviewees thought the relationship with general members the public was more or less the same as it was prior to the POEs, and that 'ordinary members of the public'

[3] Note that here, as elsewhere in the survey, who the 'public' are is not defined (indeed it would be difficult to do so). These questions are therefore likely to prompt respondents to think in a general sense about what people think of them (and what they think about people in general). This seems to be reflected in the distribution of responses show in Figure 3 – a response towards the mid-point of the scale likely reflects feeling that some members of the public have a positive attitude towards the police while others do not.

are generally supportive of the police. However, others felt that members of the public are more wary now, and more guarded in their interactions with police. Further, some interviewees noted that it has become more difficult to carry out their everyday policing work due to less cooperation and more distrust from the public.

> "The police force has long received the very strong popular support from the public…I still believe the police force is commanding majority of support from citizens"

> "Now the people we come into contact with in our regular duty…tend to keep their conversation to a bare minimum, avoiding anything related to the protests"

> "In the past they won't challenge us on matters of law or the order of our work procedures, things like that. But now we will spend a lot of time explaining ourselves"

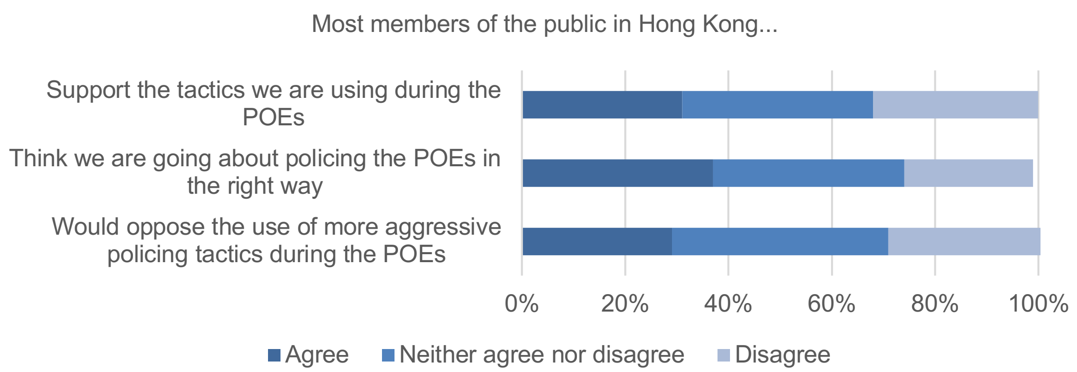
> "There are lots of people still supporting the police and believing and trusting the police"

> "I can feel that things have changed, mainly with the younger generation. They are very against the police. Whatever we do. Even our appearance will trigger their anger"

3.1.2 Peaceful Public Order Events

We now turn to officers' views concerning *peaceful* POEs.[4] Respondents had mixed or ambivalent views of the extent of public support for the police tactics being used (Figure 4 and Appendix Table 4). For example, 31% agreed that 'Most members of the public in Hong Kong support the tactics we are using during the POEs', 32% disagreed and 37% neither agreed nor disagreed. When it came to the statement 'Most members of the public in Hong Kong think we are going about policing the POEs in the right way', these figures were 37%, 25% and 37%, respectively.

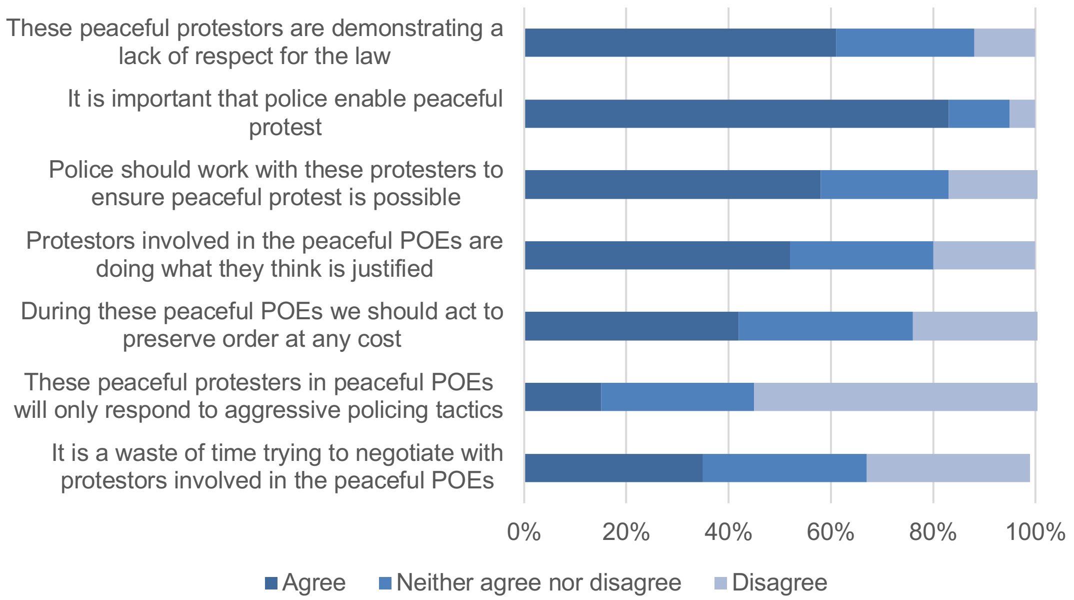
Figure 4: Perceptions of public support for police tactics during peaceful POEs
Percentages



[4] Note that this wording – peaceful, and below violent, POEs – imposes a binary distinction on what is plainly a fluid, complex and changing situation. It is probably best to interpret answers to questions about peaceful POEs in terms of officer reactions to the type of people and events they associate with demonstrations not marked by violence.

Turning to officers' own views of the peaceful protests, responses here were mixed (see Figure 5 and Appendix Table 5). For example, 52% agreed with the statement that 'Protesters involved in the peaceful POEs are doing what they think is justified' (with only 20% disagreeing); 58% agreed that 'Police should work with these protesters to ensure peaceful protest is possible'; and fully 83% agreed that 'It is important that police enable peaceful protest'. Yet, 61% felt that 'These peaceful protesters are demonstrating a lack of respect for the law' (with only 12% disagreeing). Views on the statement 'It is a waste of time trying to negotiate with protesters involved in the peaceful POEs' was evenly distributed between the agree, disagree and neither/nor responses, while 42% agreed that 'During these peaceful POEs we should act to preserve order at any cost'.

Figure 5: Views of the peaceful protesters and how to police the protests
Percentages



The overall message here seems to be uncertainty and perhaps confusion – respondents were clear that peaceful protests should be enabled, and accepted that protesters were acting from principle, but were also concerned that demonstrators did not respect the law, and were ambivalent about the possibility of policing the peaceful POEs by consent.

These findings were echoed in the interviews and focus groups, with the majority of respondents speaking of their commitment to enabling and facilitating peaceful protest. Interviewees spoke about how they see demonstration as 'a part of Hong Kong' and reiterated that their job as police officers is to facilitate peaceful demonstrations. Yet, they were adamant that the moment a protester breaks the law, or the nature of the protest changes from a peaceful one, their job as police officers is to enforce the law and to arrest those in breach of it.

> "If it's a peaceful assembly or march we will facilitate them. But if what they're doing is illegal or disrupt the peace of the community, it's our duty to enforce the law"

"I have no problem with them having their own ideal, their own cause, but to fight for that they have been doing something illegal and this is what I can't accept"

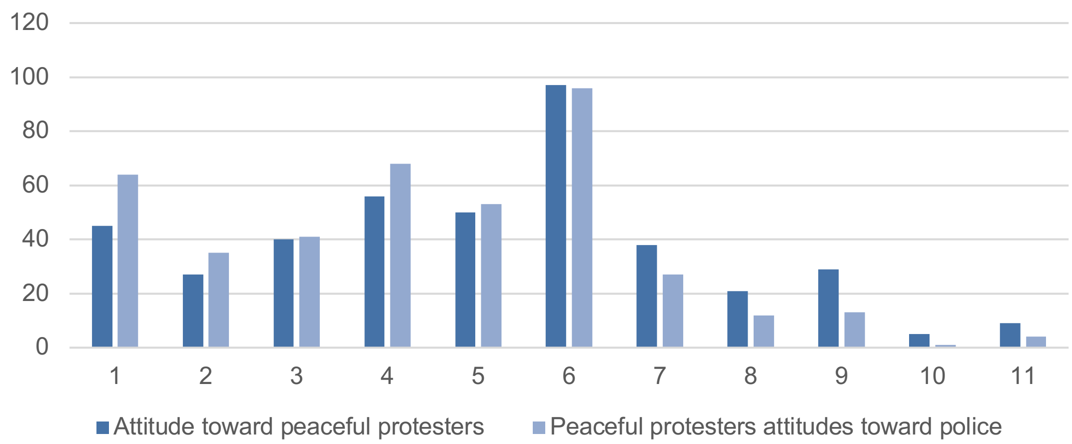
"As a police officer, as a law enforcer, our primary role is to uphold the law, protect the life and property of the members of the public. That has never changed. We fully respect people's right of freedom, right of holding the public meeting and holding the public procession"

"I welcome the protesters to express their views...as long as they're peaceful. There is no room for negotiation, anyone breaks the laws and we will arrest or enforce the laws"

"I myself as a Hong Kong citizen believe in freedom of assembly and freedom of speech so I am not opposed to peaceful demonstration or protest. Having said that, I can't accept any acts that infringe upon the rights of other people or to attack other people"

Returning to the survey, overall sentiment toward the peaceful protesters, and perceptions of the protesters' views toward police, were again recorded by two items that mirrored those above: respondents were asked to provide a score on an 11 point scale anchored at 'extremely unfavourable' (1) to 'extremely favourable' (11) in relation to (a) their general attitude towards peaceful protesters and (b) their perception of protesters' attitude toward police. Results from these two items are shown in Figure 6 (and in Appendix Table 6), and we find that while there is still marked clustering around the midpoint, views here skewed to the negative. Most officers had a generally unfavourable view of the peaceful protesters and felt that the peaceful protesters had an unfavourable view of police. These two items were also quite strongly correlated with each other (r = .6): officers who had an unfavourable view of the peaceful protesters tended to feel protesters had a similar view of the police. Respondents clearly felt a greater sense of distance from the peaceful protesters when compared with the general public.

Figure 6: Perceptions of relations between police and peaceful protesters
Numbers



This sense of distance was reflected upon in the interviews and focus groups, with a number of officers speaking of the difficulties they have faced engaging with and developing a relationship with those involved in the peaceful POEs. Interviewees spoke of how the peaceful protesters generally tend to be uncooperative and hold a negative attitude towards them.

> "The peaceful ones, they tend to refuse to cooperate with our instructions. I ask them to move onto the pavement, they refuse"

> "Some of them even though they're peaceful they would display some rudeness and impoliteness towards the force. There will be some verbal abuses against us when we are forming our defence line or doing some regular stop and check work"

> "Before June we were only provoked or challenged by some gangsters or criminals. Since June, the so-called yellow camp, maybe they don't break the laws, but even they will be radically preventing us from doing our job"

> "Whenever there is a large group of people, there will be provocation and animosity. One thing you will expect is abusive languages. They will call us rapists, evil police, dog like police. Very insulting. Behaviour-wise if we want to march forward, they will stand in our way and do anything to refuse to cooperate with us"

3.1.3 Violent Public Order Events

Respondents' assessments of violent POEs and protesters were much more negative (Figure 7 and Appendix Table 7).[5] For example, only 22% agreed that 'Police should work with these violent protesters to ensure peaceful protest is possible'; 69% agreed that 'It is a waste of time trying to negotiate with protesters involved in the violent demonstrations'; and 90% agreed 'These violent protesters are demonstrating a lack of respect for the law'.

Overall sentiment toward protesters identified as violent, and perceptions of such protesters' views toward police, were once more recorded by two items: respondents were asked to provide a score on an 11 point scale anchored at 'extremely unfavourable' (1) to 'extremely favourable' (11) concerning (a) their general attitude towards violent protesters and (b) their perception of protesters' attitudes toward police. Results from these two items are shown in Figure 8 and Appendix Table 6. Views here were overwhelmingly negative – most officers held an extremely unfavourable view of violent protesters, and thought they held similar views of the police (these two items correlated at r = .71). The officers in this sample clearly felt a great sense of distance from people identified as violent protesters.

---

[5] Again, note that the question wording invokes a particular distinction (violent vs. non-violent) and thus view on the object of discussion. And while respondents are being asked to think about 'violent protestors', we cannot be sure what they thought 'violent' meant in this context.

Figure 7: Views of violent protesters and how to police the protests
Percentages

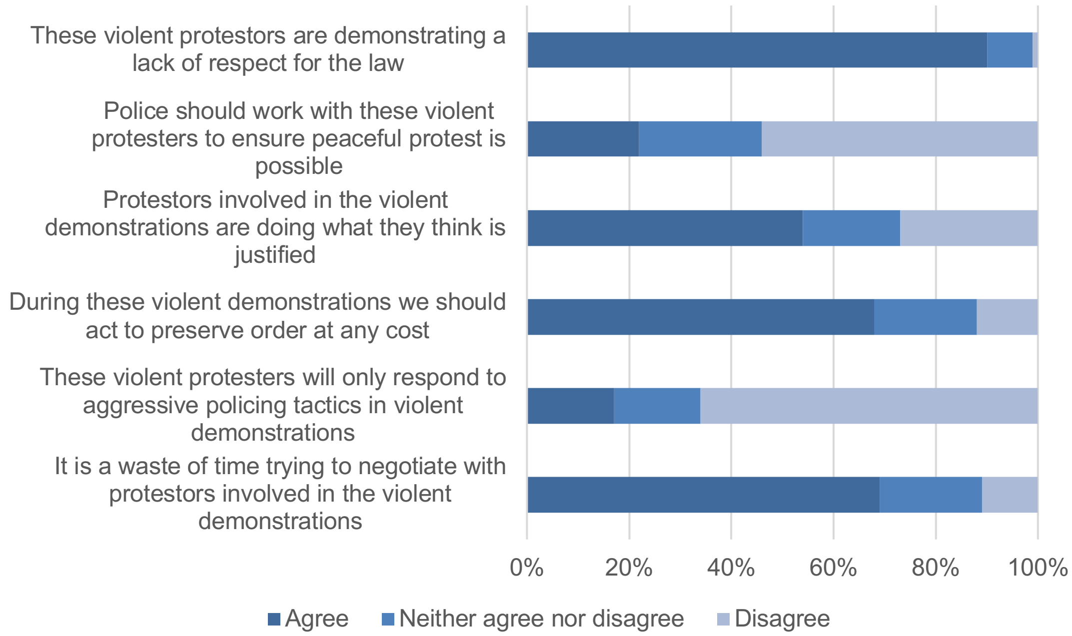
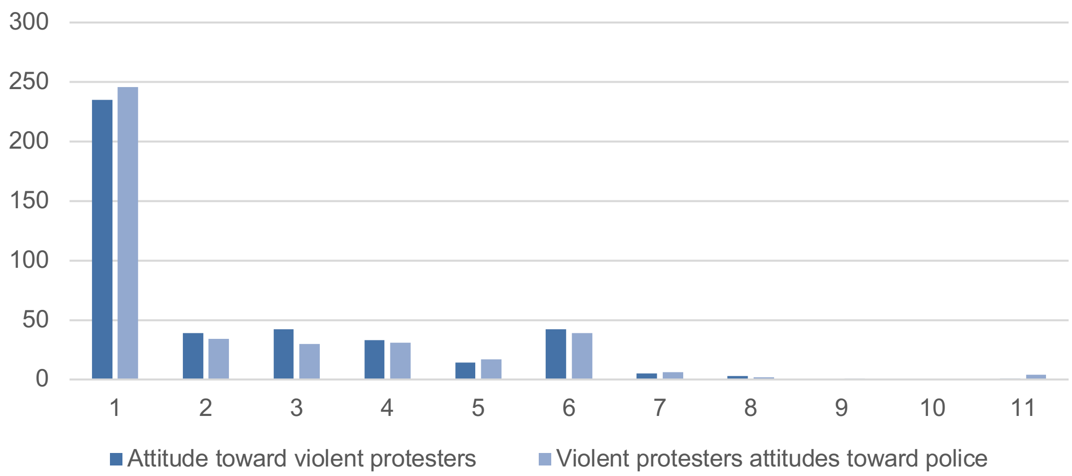


Figure 8: Overall perceptions of relations between police and violent protesters
Numbers



Again, these findings were corroborated in the interviews and focus groups, with officers generally holding a negative view of violent protesters or 'rioters', and strongly condemning the use of violence. Interviewees generally held the opinion that there was no point in trying to talk to or engage with these protesters and that their relationship with these people is a hostile one.

> "For some rioters, they are actually just using lots of excuses to justify their violent acts. And for those violent people, no matter how you talk to them, I don't think you can get your expected outcome"

> "The violent ones have an objective and aim, a goal, so basically talking to them is not an option for them"

> “The minority are violent. They are difficult, we cannot have a dialogue with them because they have committed a crime. We just give them a warning and then we respond. At the least we have to stop them and arrest them”
>
> “The relationship is definitely one of hostility”
>
> “The violent ones are trying to make some noise, that’s my personal view...And I think now they are losing their minds some of them. They don’t mind breaking the law, they don’t mind hurting people, they don’t mind damaging things”

3.2 Work patterns, confrontation, use of force and injury

Moving on to ‘concrete’ experiences of policing, the survey revealed that in their own estimation respondents had spent an average 47% of their time policing the POEs since June 2019 (SD = 33, range 0 - 100). Again, in their own estimation, they had spent an average of 5.6 days a week at work and worked an average of 13.5 hours a day over the same period.

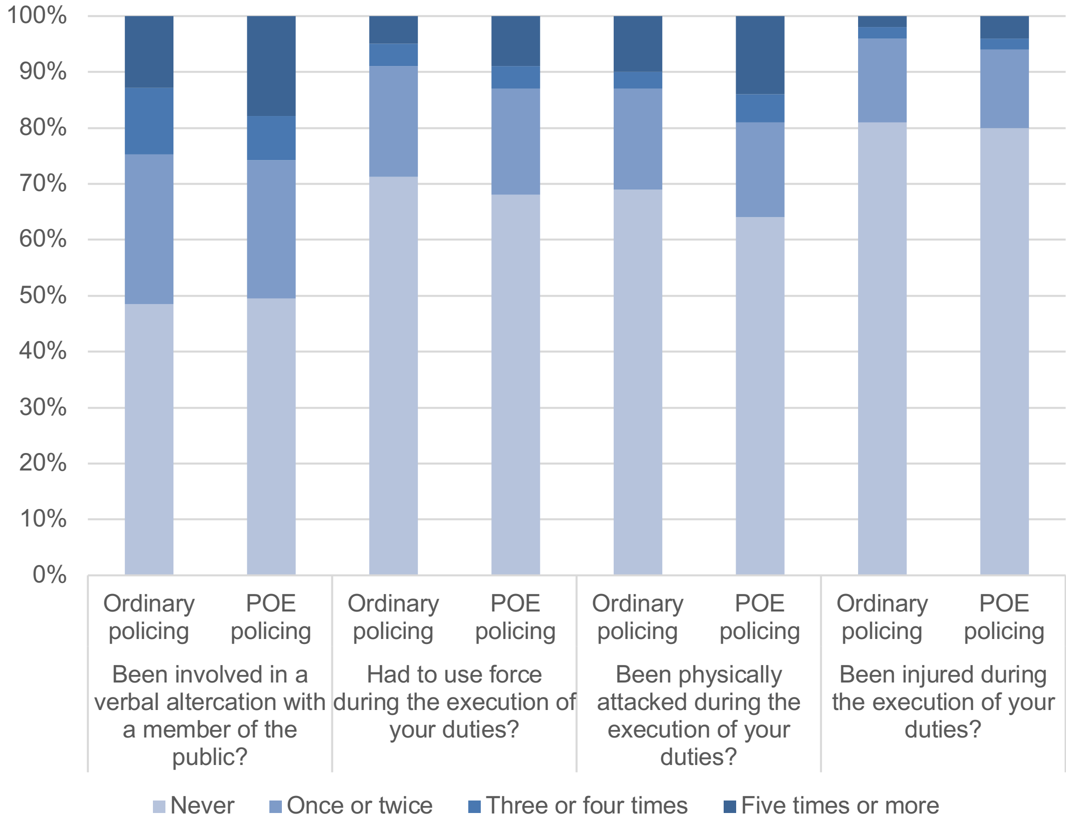
In the interviews and focus groups, all officers spoke about the longer working hours they have experienced during the POEs. While those on the front-line dealing directly with the POEs seemed to have been most affected, officers not on the front-line also talked about having a heavier workload due to other members of their team being redeployed, resulting in short-staffing issues. Interviewees spoke about how they have less time now to do their ‘normal’ policing job and that other parts of their work have suffered as a result.

> “Work has been more varied with heavier workload and long hours. Every Friday through the weekend I will be called on duty to assist with station defence. Working seven days a week”
>
> “In the past two weeks I don’t remember having a single day off. Maybe for a whole month I would get two days off”
>
> “My standard working hours used to be 9 hours and 36 minutes. Now it’s 13-14 hours each day. A majority of our original manpower has been moved over to the special duty team so the manpower for answering emergency calls has been thinner”
>
> “We used to be providing regular service or emergency services to those who need help, prevention of crime, detection of crime. Now we can spend much fewer time doing this regular duty. Every day our job becomes more of anti-riot duty”
>
> “Almost every weekend I have to report to duty. I work 14-15 hours per day, 5-6 days per week. That means I work an additional 100 hours per month”

Two sets of survey items probed experiences of verbal confrontations, use of force, physical attack and injury since June 2019 and during (a) ‘everyday’ policing and (b) the POEs. Results from all these items are summarised in Figure 9 (and Appendix Tables 8 and 9). Verbal altercations were quite common – 51% had experienced at least one such encounter during everyday policing, and 50% at least one during the

POEs. Use of force and particularly being attacked and injured were less prevalent experiences, although still quite common. Some 31% of respondents reported having been attacked, and 19% injured, during everyday policing; for POE policing, these figures were 36% and 20%, respectively. Thirty-two per cent reported having used force during the POEs (28% during everyday policing).

Figure 9: Experiences of confrontational policing, attacks, and injuries
Percentages



Among other things, these data displayed in Figure 9 reflect the fact that only a proportion of officers are involved in policing the POEs and/or work in areas where confrontation is common, and this group are therefore more likely to get involved in confrontations and be attacked than other officers, who may experience none of these things. For example, among those who had never been involved in a verbal altercation during the POEs (n=208), 86% had also never been physically attacked, while among those who had been involved in five or more verbal altercations during the POEs (n=85), 42% had been attacked 5 times or more.

To reflect this 'clustering' of experience we created two scales for further analysis. The first took the mean of the four 'every day' policing items (resulting in a scale with properties: mean = 1.7; SD = .9; range 1-5; Cronbach's alpha = .76), where high scores indicate greater involvement in confrontational and dangerous policing during standard deployments. The second scale took the mean of the four POE items, which resulted in a scale with properties: mean = 1.9; SD = 1.1; range 1-5. The Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .82, and high scores indicate greater involvement in confrontational and

dangerous policing during the POEs.[6] Note also that these scales were strongly correlated (r = .64), indicating that the same officers tended be involved in 'difficult' policing during every day and POE deployments.

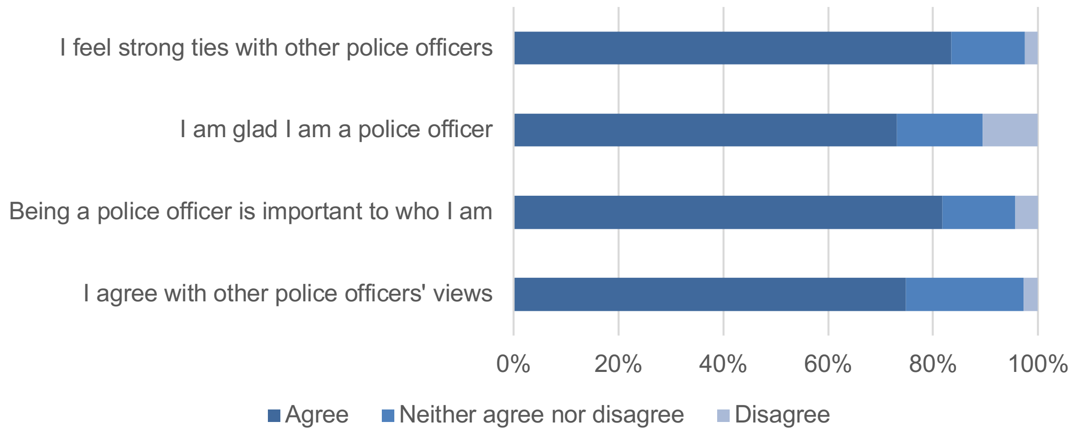
3.3 Relationships within the police organisation

3.3.1 Police identity

We now turn to relationships within the police, and respondents' understanding of themselves as police officers – first, the extent to which a specifically *police identity* is important to them. Recall that positive identification with the organisation is an important mediator in models of organisational justice. Figure 10 (and Appendix Table 10) shows results from four items probing this issue, and it demonstrates that a police identity was important to most respondents. For example, 82% agreed that 'Being a police officer is important to who I am' while 84% felt strong ties with other officers. We created a scale from these four items for further analysis, with properties: mean = 4.1; SD = .72; range 1-5; Cronbach's alpha =.84. High scores on this scale indicate a strong sense of identification with police as a social group or category.

Figure 10: Police identity

Percentages



Officers similarly expressed a strong police identity during the interviews and focus groups. Further, a number of interviewees spoke about how the recent POEs have strengthened their identity as a police officer.

> "If anything, it only confirms my belief in my job, that I'm doing the right thing"

> "For me with the role as a police officer, I have never thought I'm as strong as the present"

> "What's most important is the majority of Hong Kong citizens still rely on police services…I cannot let them down, let these people down who love Hong Kong, who love the police force"

---

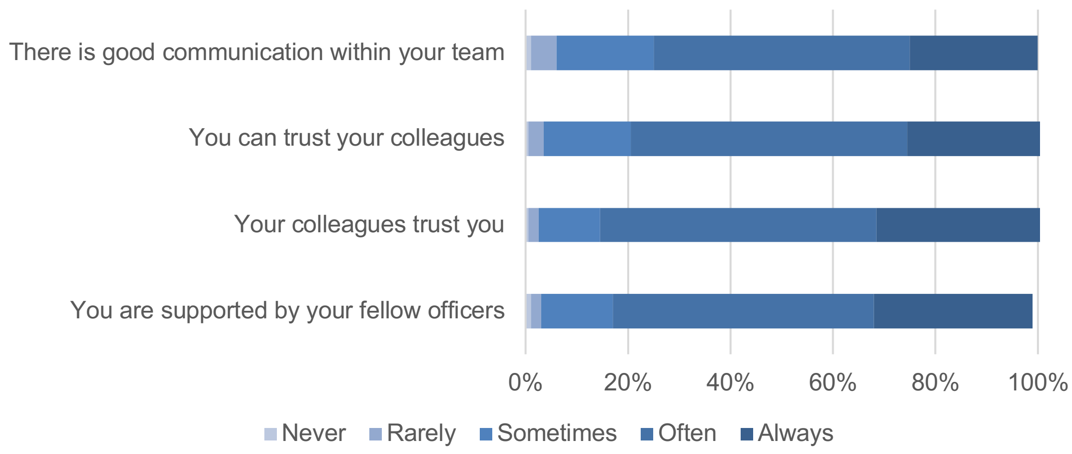
[6] The validity of these scales was again confirmed via factor analysis.

3.3.2 Peer support

Another factor that can be important in experiences at work is peer support – the feeling that one is supported and trusted by one's colleagues. Four items probed this issue, with results summarised in Figure 11. Officers again tended to have a very positive experience, with large majorities 'often' or 'always' feeling that they were trusted and supported by fellow officers, that they in turn were trusted themselves, and that there was good communication within their team. We created a scale from these four items for further analysis, with properties: mean = 4.1; SD = .68; range 1-5; Cronbach's alpha = .90. High scores on this scale indicate a strong sense of peer support and cohesion at work.

Figure 11: Perceptions of peer support

Percentages



Again, these findings were reflected in the interviews. Indeed, most respondents felt that the recent events had made relationships within the organisation stronger, by creating more opportunities for bonding with peers and more opportunities to work closer with colleagues. Interviewees described their relationships with their peers as close and supportive, and felt the POEs have strengthened the sense of team spirit within the organisation.

> "The team spirit is the highest within the police force...the bonding is superb. I guess this is the fuel for us to carry on"

> "We've got more chance to show one another support and encouragement so I think the whole force has become more united"

> "We can only finish our job by working and supporting one another. I would say the chemistry within the team has really built up and developed"

> "The trust among police officers, the capability that we are operating with, and the loyalty and allegiance we swear to those we serve is unprecedentedly high. We are not just colleagues, we are comrades that trust one another"

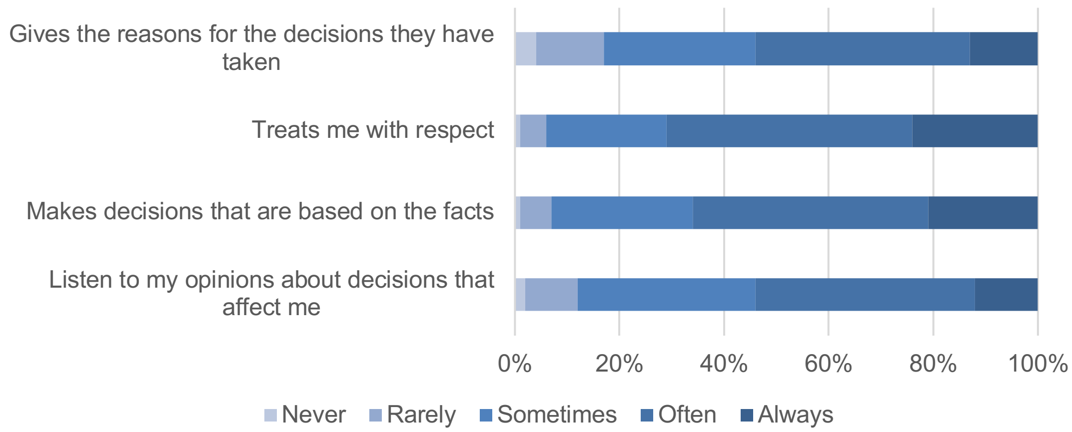
> "I think it's part of human nature that the more difficult it gets, the more cohesive a team will become, because everyone knows what they're doing, they're clearly aware of their duties"

3.3.3 Relationships with supervisors

A second key relationship within organisations is that between supervisors and subordinates. As noted above, people's perceptions of the procedural fairness of their treatment by superiors is central to the concept of organisational justice and can be key in determining outcomes such as job satisfaction, and, in policing contexts, feelings of self-legitimacy. Four survey items probed respondents' sense of the fairness with which their immediate supervisor treated them – results are shown in Figure 12 (and Appendix Table 12). Opinions here again tended to the positive, with, for example, 54% stating that their supervisor often or always listened to their opinions when making decisions that affected them. Some 71% said their supervisor often or always treated them with respect. However, there was also some ambivalence, with between one third and one half believing their supervisors treated them with procedural fairness only sometimes, or less often than that.

We created a scale of organisational justice from these four items for further analysis, again by taking the mean. The resulting scale had the following properties: mean = 3.7; SD = .8; range 1-5; Cronbach's alpha = .89. High scores on this scale indicate a stronger sense of organisational (supervisory) procedural justice.

Figure 12: Perceptions of supervisory procedural justice
Percentages



In the interviews, officers generally spoke positively about their superiors and immediate supervisors, who they described as being supportive and open to listening to their opinions. Interviewees spoke of how there has been more chance for communication as a result of the POEs and that the relationships across ranks is much closer than before.

> "The superiors, compared to before, have tried to put more of themselves into our position, to think from our perspective"

> "On many occasions we work closer, a bunch of officers of all ranks work together"

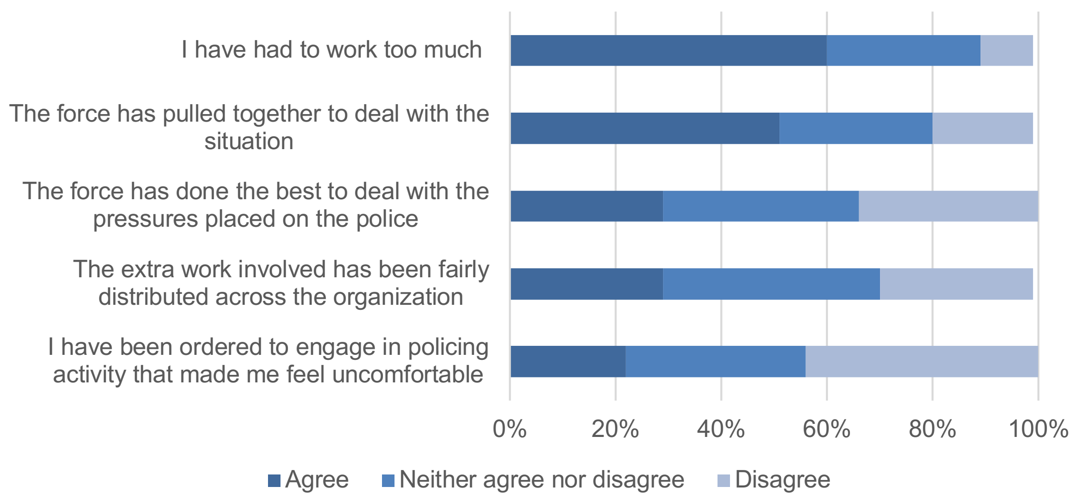
3.3.4 Distributive justice

As well as 'internal' procedural justice, another important element of organisational justice is distributive justice – employees' perceptions of the fairness with which tasks, rewards and, where appropriate, disciplinary action is distributed across the organisation. Two survey items tapped into this construct, covering the fairness of rewards and work allocations. Only one third (33%) agreed they were rewarded fairly for the work they did; a similar proportion agreed that the amount of work they were expected to do was fair (see Appendix Table 13). In other words, while officers had a generally favourable perception of procedural justice, their perception of distributive justice was much less positive. We again created a scale of distributive justice for further analysis by taking the mean of these two items (resulting in a scale with properties: mean = 2.9; SD = 1.0; range 1-5).[7]

3.3.5 Perceptions of work related to the POEs

The ways in which the Hong Kong Police Force are dealing with the issues thrown up the POEs are of course likely to be another important part of officers' current perception of the organisation. Five survey items probed this issue, with results summarised in Figure 13. Respondents clearly had mixed feelings on this issue. Three-fifths (60%) agreed that they had had too much work to do, but as a group they were not unhappy with how this work had been distributed (although 29% felt that this had not been done fairly). By contrast, while 51% agreed that the force had pulled together to deal with the situation, just 29% felt that the force had done its best to deal with the pressures on officers. Finally, only a relatively small number felt that they had been asked to do things while policing the POEs that made them uncomfortable – although one in five (22%) did feel this way.

Figure 13: Perceptions of work related to the POEs
Percentages



[7] Cronbach's alpha is not an appropriate metric when there are only two observed indicators involved. However, the two items used to create this scale were strongly correlated (*r* = .7).

Interviewees and focus group members were generally positive about how the force had handled the POEs. A number of officers spoke about how they thought senior managers had really tried to understand what was happening on the ground and to consider what support was needed.

> "Some members of senior management would from time to time go to the streets, go into the field and talk to the cops right there and hope to listen and get something from the front"

> "Now they are more open to listen to the voice from below and are more open to suggestions by even some junior officers."

However, officers also acknowledged that it has been a learning curve and that they had not always understood the decisions made by senior management. For example, a few interviewees spoke of how, at the beginning of the POEs in June, they thought there was too little response from the police force, and they believed that more arrests should have been made earlier to avoid the situation escalating.

> "Of course, some people would say there is room for improvement but in many ways this event that we've been dealing with is a political event. Something that is even outside the remit and the capability of the police force senior management"

> "From the top management, we were quite confused in the beginning…Every day we just dispersed those rioters, after seeing all that criminality, without any arrests or even containing them to have their identity recorded…Later, we are picking up the momentum, really starting more proactive policing to manage this event"

> "From the very beginning when people started throwing bricks and damaging shops and facilities, I would say that I think these people should have been arrested earlier. The earlier the better…that would have stopped the whole thing from being escalated"

> "My first impression will be similar to what you get from the media coverage. I would wonder why this couldn't have been dealt with in a better approach so as not to sour the relationship we have with the press, the public members. But now I realise the whole thing is trickier than I initially thought. This is not a matter of the police force but the whole of Hong Kong and we have done our best"

Turning specifically to the use of force throughout the POEs, the majority of interviewees believed the force used by police has been reasonable, justified and proportionate to the situation, with some even saying they thought more force should have been used earlier to avoid the situation escalating. Interviewees spoke of having very strict guidelines on when they can use force and they believed police officers are carrying out their duties according to these guidelines and have overall been restrained.

> "As a police officer, every act we take we should be held accountable to that act. So, I believe every act we have taken is based on careful deliberation and consideration"

> "I'd say we're restrained…we try not to injure them. We try to arrest them and cause minimal injuries to them"

> "The officers will use tear gas and disperse them, that's because they have escalated their violence, they have thrown stones into the station, they will throw petrol bombs. We need to protect our station and our own colleagues, that's why we need to use tear gas"

> "Our policing would be proportionate to whether they are violent or peaceful. If they're peaceful we would try to balance their right of protesting and freedom of speech with the right of average citizens of Hong Kong, their right of road usage not being obstructed. If they are violent protesters our police response to them will involve more force"

> "The force has remained constrained, we keep carrying out our duties strictly according to rules and laws"

> "We have been very restrained in our enforcement over the past four months. We are not the kind of very violent or triad, gang-like police officers like some protesters or some people would call us. If we were really that aggressive and violent in our enforcement, this campaign wouldn't have lasted four months"

> "I would expect a more high hand approach. Because if we want to stop it, we must stop it in the very beginning, rather than letting it get worse and trying to recover from that damage"

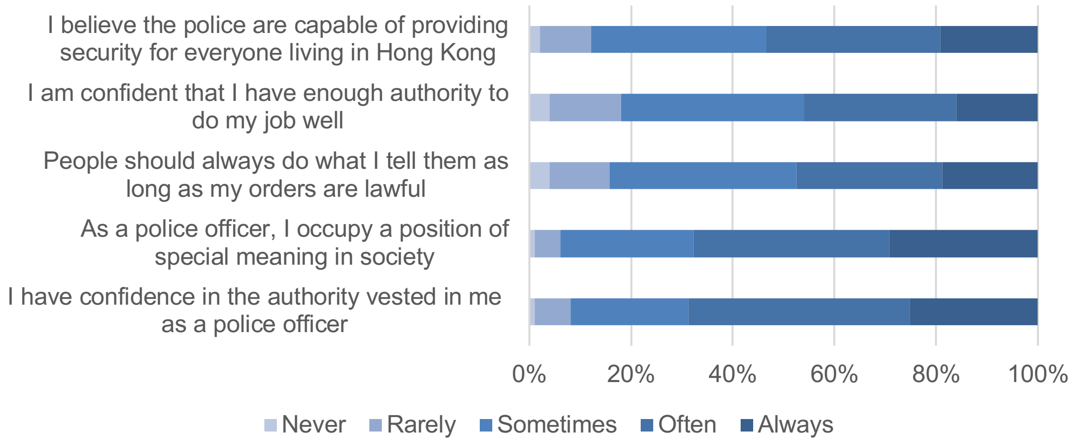
> "I've heard from my colleagues and members of the public…that on some occasions the use of force was too little too late"

3.3.6 Self-perception and policing ideals

Turning to officers' perceptions of themselves as police officers and how they thought policing should be conducted, five survey items assessed, first, respondents' sense of their own legitimacy. Results from these items are shown in Figure 14, and the general conclusion is that officers in this sample had a relatively strong, but by no means overwhelming, sense of their own legitimacy. Over two thirds felt that they often or always had confidence in the authority vested in them (68%) and that they occupied a position of special meaning in society (67%). Over half (51%) believed the police were capable of providing security for everyone living in Hong Kong. They were somewhat less clear about their ability to assert their authority, with 46% often or always feeling that they had enough authority to do their job well and 48% feeling that people should always do what they tell them as long as the orders are lawful. Note, however, that 'never' or 'rarely' responses were uncommon across all five items.

We combined these items into a scale measuring self-legitimacy, again by taking the mean. The resulting scale had the properties: mean = 3.6; SD = .78; range 1-5; Cronbach's alpha = .85. High scores on this scale indicate a greater sense of self-legitimacy, or confidence in the positive value of one's own authority.

Figure 14: Self-legitimacy
Percentages



In the interviews, most officers felt their authority and legitimacy as a police officer had not changed as a result of the POEs. They spoke about how their job was still to enforce the law and to enable and facilitate peaceful protest. However, they acknowledged that because of the increase in the number of protesters, and the increase in violence, perhaps they cannot enforce the law as effectively as before.

> "I would say law enforcement nowadays has become more difficult. We just want to do our job better, but we are subject to constant challenges."

> "With the police numbers overall holding steady and what we are facing with the numbers growing, we cannot enforce the law as effectively as before."

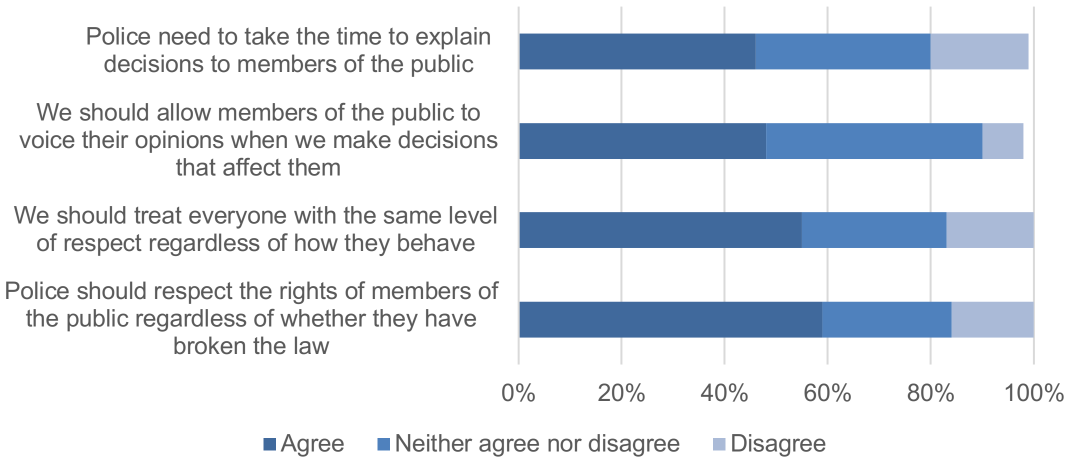
A number of survey items considered respondents' ideas and understanding of how they should go about their work in everyday policing contexts. In particular, these concerned perceptions of the importance of procedural justice in policing (see Figure 15) and ideas about the use of force and ends vs. means trade-offs (Figure 16): what we term here policing ideals.

Looking first at the idea of procedural justice, relatively few respondents felt that it was not important to treat members of the public with fairness, dignity and respect. However, there was also some ambiguity here. For example, while 46% agreed that 'Police need to take the time to explain decisions to members of the public', 34% felt they could neither agree nor disagree with this statement. Some 55% agreed 'We should treat everyone with the same level of respect regardless of how they behave', but 28% responded neither agree nor disagree. One reason for this ambiguity may be the lack of context provided – some officers may have felt that they would usually behave in such a way but that this was not always the case and that it would depend on circumstance, prompting selection of the neutral midpoint of the scale.

It is important to note that these items reflect officers' expressed understanding of the important of the issues concerned. What they do not represent is how they have actually behaved, or how they might behave in the future (although attitudes and ideals do of course guide behaviour).

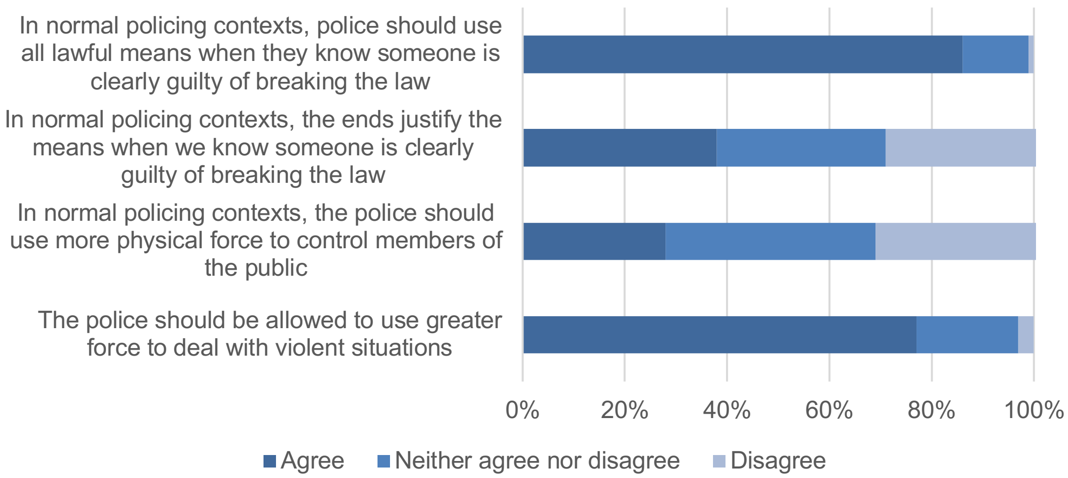
We combined the items shown in Figure 15 into a scale measuring officers' commitment to procedural justice in policing, by taking the mean. The resulting scale had the following properties: mean = 3.4; SD = .66; range 1-5; Cronbach's alpha = .63. High scores on this scale indicate a greater commitment to a style of police marked by procedural justice.

Figure 15: Commitment to procedural justice in policing
Percentages



Turning to the use of force and questions of ends vs. means, views here were much more mixed (see Figure 16). Respondents were firmly committed to the idea that the police should use all available legal means when they know someone is guilty, and that the police should be allowed to use greater force to deal with violent situations. They were much less likely, however, to agree that 'In normal policing contexts, the ends justify the means when we know someone is clearly guilty of breaking the law' or that 'The police should use more physical force to control members of the public'.

Figure 16: Use of force and ends vs. means
Percentages



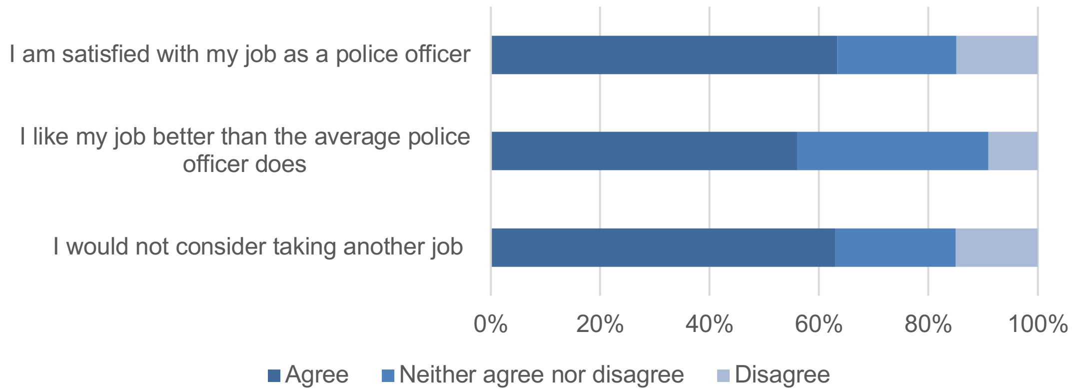
3.4 Outcomes for officers

3.4.1 Job satisfaction

Finally, we turn to the variables measuring officer-related outcomes – job satisfaction, stress and maladaptive behaviours. Job satisfaction was measured by three items and was generally high. Some 64% felt they were satisfied with their job as a police officer; 63% felt they would not consider taking another job, and 56% thought they liked their job better than other police officers (see Figure 17). Yet, a significant minority did not feel these ways, and around 10-15% of respondents seem to have felt actively dissatisfied with their jobs.

We combined the items shown in Figure 17 into a scale measuring officers' overall job satisfaction, by taking the mean of the three. The resulting measure scale had the following properties: mean = 3.7; SD = .92; range 1-5; Cronbach's alpha = .84. High scores on this scale indicate a greater job satisfaction.

Figure 17: Job Satisfaction
Percentages



In the interviews, officers were asked about their job satisfaction and whether they still believed a career as a police officer was right for them. Responses were unanimous – all interviewees were satisfied with their job and were committed to being a police officer. A number of interviewees spoke about how proud they were to be a police officer and that they saw their role as particularly important during this time.

> "If I don't believe that what we're doing is right I wouldn't be sticking until now because I've retired, I'm living on pension…I don't feel I should abandon my colleagues in this most difficult moment"

> "I'm very motivated to do this job because I think this is the most important job for the force and for Hong Kong as well"

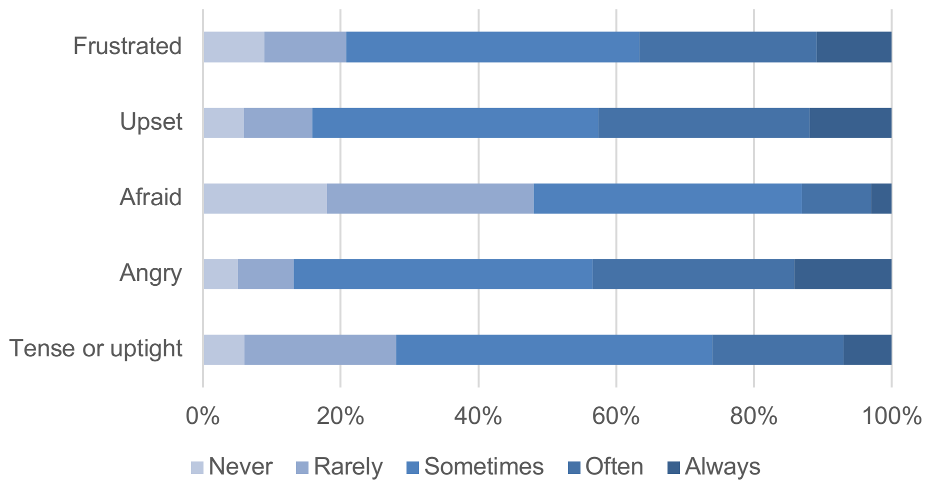
> "There's no better choice than being a police officer to me"

3.4.2 Stress

Officer stress was measured in the survey by eight items representing negative emotional states (e.g. frustration, stress) as well as positive emotional states (e.g. inspiration): respondents were asked 'how often' they felt these ways. We report here

responses relating to the negative states – see Appendix Table 18 for the full question set. Figure 18 shows that levels of stress were high, but not overwhelmingly so. For example, 28% of respondents reported often or always feeling tense or uptight; 43% reported feeling often or always feeling angry, and 43% often or always felt upset.

Figure 18: Stress
Percentages



We combined the five items assessing prevalence of negative emotional states into a scale measuring officers' levels of stress, again by taking the mean. The resulting measure scale had the following properties: mean = 3.1; SD = .77; range 1-5; Cronbach's alpha = .82. High scores on this scale indicate a greater level of stress. Note that the high alpha score, and strong inter-correlation between these items (average *r* = .48) indicates that officers who replied 'often' or 'always' to one of these questions tended to reply in a similar way to the others. Put simply, some felt much more stressed than others. See below for consideration of the predictors of high stress.

Stress was a very prevalent feature in the interviews and focus groups. The majority of interviewees agreed there has been a dramatic increase in stress since the POEs started in June. Interviewees spoke of how this stress has stemmed from a few different issues, including: the longer working hours and exhaustion, having less time to spend with family and friends, on-the-job stress, and worry about their own and their family's safety.

Many interviewees shared personal experiences of the causes of their stress. For example, some officers spoke about how they avoid going to public places for fear of being attacked or abused, and a number of officers cited specific examples of being either verbally or physically attacked while off-duty. For those with children, there was concern about their safety in schools and whether they will be bullied or discriminated against, again with some giving specific examples of this happening. A number of interviewees also gave examples of having their personal details shared online and being subject to harassment as a result.

> "We are human beings, people call us evil police we will be upset. They will call us rapists and woe betide our family and children"

> "I think the biggest impact is I worry about my kids in their schools, whether they will be bullied in school…I've never thought so early about sending my kids abroad to receive education but now I really have to come down to thinking about it"

> "Now we are overworked, every day we are working over 12 hours at least on ground. This is an enormous workload for several months"

> "Beyond work, we have been put under all sorts of stress beyond your imagination. Online, on telegram, different platforms, our data and information and that of our family members have been uploaded and followed by every sort of harassment possible"

> "I would say more of the stress comes from your worrying about your family members, for your children in school, whether they will be bullied by their teachers…we as officers have been trained to work under stress, not so for our family members"

> "We've been working for very long hours and our job has become tougher. It's not just physically but also mentally. We have to watch out for our own safety and we also have to watch out for the emotions of our colleagues"

> "I avoid going to streets for fear my identity will be exposed and then I will be subject to harassment or attacks"

> "Where I live, sometimes it comes under regular or very often harassment and I worry about my personal information or identity being doxxed or exposed. If I'm out in the street alone without any gear I would avoid talking about political issues or policing issues loudly. I've also lost a lot of friends because they cannot afford to keep on the friendship regardless of different opinions. Inevitably it's become harder to lead a normal life"

> "We ourselves are just normal people and we now feel we somehow have to hide low and even become invisible"

However, just as there were differences across officers in their experiences of confrontational policing during the POEs, not all interviewees experienced an increase in stress, or were affected in the same way by the POEs. Those on the front-line or who were in more public-facing roles were typically considered to be affected the most.

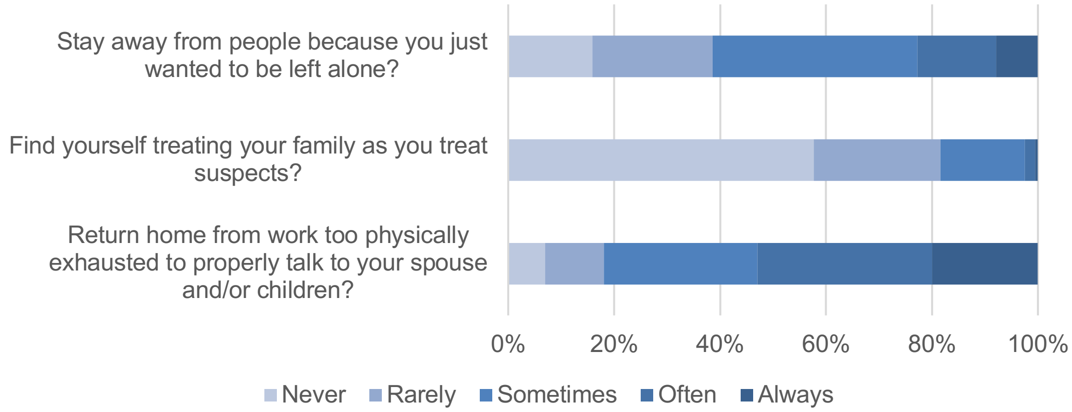
> "I think different police officers from different posts have different feelings because they do different things. Like me, I don't deal with those confronting the people. I cannot feel their feelings, but I can imagine what they feel. They are facing very high pressures"

3.4.3 Maladaptive behaviours

The survey also probed for behaviours that might be associated with stress and other poor outcomes: physical exhaustion; 'bringing the job home' by treating friends and family as suspects; and staying away from people to be alone. Figure 19 summarises results from these items, and we find that while most officers did not feel they treated friends and families as suspects (82% said they rarely or never did this), levels of exhaustion were high – 53% said they often or always returned home from work too

tired to talk to their spouse and children. Some 23% said they often or always tried to avoid other people to be left alone.

Figure 19: Maladaptive behaviours
Percentages



Consistent with these findings, in the interviews officers spoke about how they are often too physically exhausted to do anything outside of work; for example, spending time with their children or socialising with friends.

> "I have very little time to monitor my children and to help them with their homework, or to take them out to have fun and enjoy their time. What limited time available I have I would just rest, sleep"

> "Working 15 hours per day, remaining time lie on the bed. During off days most of the time try to get some more sleep. Not much time for private life"

> "I would say I have no private life now. When I'm off duty I spend time with my daughter at home, that's it, no social life"

3.5 Predicting officer identities

Recall that the theoretical model presented above specified three variables that might mediate the associations between particular officer experiences (e.g. organisational justice, or public support for police), and outcomes such as job satisfaction or stress. These were cynicism, self-legitimacy, and 'police' identity, all of which can be described as aspects of the police officer's self-concept or personal identity. On the account offered, officers' experiences in and on the job shape these different aspects of their identities, which in turn affect the outcomes they experience. So, for example, organisational justice should motivate greater identification with the police and stronger self-categorisation *as* police, which, because it generates a sense of belonging, inclusion and support, may in turn motivate internalisation of the values of the force and diminish stress.

In this section we explore the correlates of these three aspects of officers' identities. We use regression modelling to consider whether the following variables positively or negatively predict cynicism, self-legitimacy, and police identity:

- Organisational justice, represented by the supervisory procedural justice and distributive justice scales described above
- Peer support, again measured by the scale described above
- Experiences of use of force and injury during every day and POE policing
- The proportion of their time officers had spent policing the POEs, whether they felt over-worked during the POEs, and whether they had been asked to do things that made them feel uncomfortable
- Their relationship with the protestors, represented by the measure described above concerning whether the peaceful protestors respected the law
- Perceptions of public support for everyday and POE policies
- Officer gender, age and rank.

The claim here is therefore that how officers experience their work, what they do, and relationships within and outside the police organisation, may all affect the way they understand themselves as police officers.

3.5.1 Cynicism

Looking first at cynicism, what Bradford and Quinton (2014) refer to as 'cynical sub-cultural adaptation' (an inward looking, negative attitude towards working with the public and aligning police work with community priorities), we find the following associations (see Appendix Table 20 for full results):

- Senior officers tend to be less cynical than PCs or Sergeants
- Officers who experience greater supervisory procedural justice tend to be less cynical
- Those who believe public disagree with everyday police tactics tend to be more cynical than others.

Aside from these three variables, none of those listed in Section 3.5 above was significant in our model.[8] One interpretation of these results is that cynicism stems from (a) personality traits not measured in the survey and (b) junior officers' everyday experience of front-line policing. Yet, it seems that organisational justice can offset these experiences somewhat, perhaps, in simple terms, because it promotes a generally more positive outlook to policing among those who experience it.

3.5.2 Police identity

Turning to respondents' sense of identification as police, we find the following associations (Appendix Table 20 has the full results):

[8] Although further analysis suggested there may be a marginal negative association between distributive justice and cynicism (i.e. higher levels of distributive justice may also be linked to lower levels of cynicism).

- Identification with/as police declines somewhat with age
- Both supervisory procedural justice and distributive justice are positively associated with identification
- Peer support is strongly associated with identity judgements
- Experience of force and/or injury during the POEs has a *positive* association with identification, although this is significant only at the 10% level
- Thinking that the public do not support everyday police tactics is associated with stronger identification (again at the 10% significance level)
- Agreeing that the peaceful protestors lack respect for the law is associated with stronger identification.

These results suggest there are three important sources of identification: organisational justice, peer support, and relations with the public (and, here, those identified as POE protesters). The last is particularly interesting in as much as the model suggests that, all else equal, the more 'distant' an officer feels from those participating in the POEs, the more strongly they identify *as* police. Taken together these findings suggest a police identity is, to this sample, generally rather inward-looking, generated primarily by internal processes and peer support.

3.5.3 Self-legitimacy

Finally, considering the concept of self-legitimacy – officers' confidence in the authority vested in them as police – we find the following associations (see Appendix Table 20 for the full model):

- Self-legitimacy declines somewhat with age
- Sergeants report higher self-legitimacy than other officers
- Supervisory procedural justice and distributive justice are both positively associated with self-legitimacy
- Peer support is also positively associated with self-legitimacy
- Officers who felt that there was public support for the way the POEs had been policed tended to feel a stronger sense of self-legitimacy
- Those who had been asked to do things during the POEs that made them feel uncomfortable tended to report a lower sense of self-legitimacy.

These findings seem to support the idea that a sense of self-legitimacy is generated by organisational justice and peer-support (i.e. relations within the agency) *and* perceptions of public support for police, which in the current context unsurprisingly references the POEs. Perceptions of general public support for policing did not predict self-legitimacy, perhaps because concerns about the POEs were swamping more general issues and experiences. We also find that 'on the job' issues – being asked to do things that made the officer feel uncomfortable – were important, although here it may be that those lower in self-legitimacy were more likely to feel unhappy fulfilling certain duties, rather than the other way around.

3.5.4 Summary

What is striking from the results above is that use of force and experiences of injury, time spent policing the POEs, and feeling over-worked, are only very weak and in most cases non-significant predictors of the three aspects of officers' identities that comprised the response variables. Police identities, which have been shown to be important predictors of outcomes such as those described below, appear in this sample to be shaped not by what might be termed the physical activity of policing but rather by the relationships these officers experience – within the organisation but also with the people they police.

3.6. Predicting officer outcomes

In this section we consider the correlates of the three outcome measures identified in Figure 1 above: stress, commitment to procedural justice in policing, and job satisfaction. Using the predictors outlined above, and adding cynicism, police identity and self-legitimacy to the equation, our aim is thus to consider the potential effects of officers' experiences on both themselves and their willingness to conduct policing in appropriate ways.

3.6.1 Stress

Turning first to the issue of stress, Appendix Table 21 shows results from a series of regression models predicting the measure of stress outlined in Section 3.4.2 above. Results can be summarised as follows:

- Distributive justice was a consistent, negative predictor of stress. Those who felt that work and pay were fair were less likely to report feeling stressed
- There was a weak negative association between supervisory procedural justice and stress, with this statistical effect seeming to be mediated by the identity variables
- Those who did not report having been asked to engage in activity that made them uncomfortable during the POEs reported lower levels of stress
- Officers who felt the public did not support everyday police tactics tended to report higher levels of stress
- Respondents who felt that the public supported the way the POEs are being policed reported lower levels of stress, with this statistical effect being largely mediated by police identity and self-legitimacy
- Those who identified more strongly with/as police, and those who reported greater self-legitimacy, tended to report lower levels of stress. There was no significant association between cynicism and stress.

Aside from the above, none of the other predictor variables used in this report had a significant association with stress. Within this sample, stress seems to emerge as a result of poor *relationships*, particularly within the police organisation, rather than experiences of over-work, injury, or 'difficult' or dangerous policing. There is thus an interesting divergence here from the qualitative interviews discussed in Section 3.4.2, where respondents very clearly spoke about stress in relation to the policing of the POEs. One way of interpreting this is that while the proximal causes of stress did relate to such experiences, these were entirely mediated by the various 'relationship' variables used in the regression modelling. Alternatively, it may be that we simply have

an omitted variable problem, and measures of, for example, the effects of recent events on officers' families are missing from our models.

3.6.2 Commitment to procedural justice in policing

Second, we consider officers' commitment to procedural justice in policing, or what can be termed external procedural justice. It is worth reiterating that at stake here is not how respondents actually have behaved, or might behave in the future, but rather their self-reported understanding of how important it is to treat those they police with respect, openness and so on. Results here are quite striking (see Appendix Table 22):

- Officers of rank higher than Sergeant expressed greater support for external procedural justice, with this statistical effect entirely mediated by cynicism (or rather lack thereof)
- Supervisory procedural justice was positively associated with external procedural justice – those who felt fairly treated within the organisation expressed a stronger commitment to external procedural justice. Some but not all of this statistical effect was mediated by cynicism
- A feeling that the public support the policing of the POEs was associated with *lower* commitment to external procedural justice. One interpretation here is that believing there is widespread support for the way in which the POEs have been policed is associated with a sense that procedural justice is less important because people will support other modes of police action
- Entered individually, each of the three 'identity' variables – cynicism, police identity and self-legitimacy – predicted commitment to procedural justice. Yet, when entered jointly, only cynicism retained significance as a negative predictor of external procedural justice. Indeed, cynicism emerged as by some margin the most important predictor in the model. Respondents who expressed a cynical view of policing (that some people are not worth helping, police do not need to understand community concerns, etc.), were much less likely to express commitment to external procedural justice.

Aside from the above there were essentially no other significant predictors of commitment to external procedural justice (at least in terms of the variables included in our models). Taken as a whole, these results suggest that self-reported commitment to normatively justifiable modes of policing (i.e. procedural justice) has not been affected by the experience of policing the POEs but is shaped on a more fundamental basis by (a) an understanding of what the relationship between police and policed *should be like*, which we have labelled here cynicism, and to a lesser extent (b) internal procedural justice within the Hong Kong police.

3.6.3 Job satisfaction

Third, and finally, we turn to job satisfaction (see Appendix Table 23). A wider range of variables emerge as predictors, and results from the models can be summarised as follows:

- Older officers tended to report higher levels of job satisfaction
- Higher supervisory procedural justice was associated with greater satisfaction, with this statistical effect mediated by the identity variables, especially identification with/as police
- Higher distributive justice was associated with greater job satisfaction, with some evidence of mediation via the identity variables

- Stronger peer support was associated with greater job satisfaction, with much but not all of this statistical effect mediated by the identity variables
- There was a small but significant *positive* association between time spent policing the POEs and job satisfaction
- A sense of public support for the policing of the POEs was associated with higher job satisfaction, with this statistical effect entirely mediated by the identity variables, especially identification with/as police
- Identification with/as police and self-legitimacy had very strong positive associations with job satisfaction.

Again, it is striking that experiences of over-work, injury and so on had little or no unique association with job satisfaction. Rather, officers' relationships within – and indeed with – the police organisation again emerge as the most important predictors.

3.6.4 Summary

Results in this section suggest that the experience of policing the POEs has had – on its own – relatively little effect on outcomes for officers such as stress, their self-assessed commitment to external procedural justice, and job satisfaction. What are important are the relationships they have with those they police and, particularly, their peers, supervisors and the police organisation as a whole. When these relationships are positive, stress tends to be lower, job satisfaction higher, and, to an extent, commitment to procedural justice in policing stronger. To put it another way, it seems that any negative implications for officers and the ways they think about their work arising from the policing of the POEs can be mitigated by organisational justice and the maintenances of support networks within the force.

4. Conclusion

Taken as a whole, the results reported above indicate two quite distinct sets of interpretations. On the one hand, policing the POEs, and the surrounding political events, has clearly had an effect on respondents. Levels of stress seem quite high, and participants in the qualitative interviews gave clear accounts of some of the sources of this stress. Officers clearly feel an antagonistic relationship with protestors defined as violent, albeit that their views on protestors defined as peaceful are more nuanced.

On the other hand, the online survey in particular suggests a picture of remarkable normality. Respondents here did not report substantially higher rates of use of force or injury during POE policing as compared with their everyday duties. But perhaps more importantly, we find relatively little evidence that policing the POEs is associated with declines in self-legitimacy, job satisfaction, stress or other outcomes. Rather, it is officers' experience of organisational justice, their relationships with their peers, and their understanding of what 'the public' thinks of the police that emerge as the most important predictors of the various outcomes we modelled in our analysis. Despite the current events in Hong Kong, it is striking how similar the results from this study are to research findings from countries including the UK (e.g. Bradford et al. 2014), the US (e.g. Trinkner et al. 2016) and Taiwan (e.g. Wu et al. 2017).

This is not to say that the recent events are not important in shaping the way these Hong Kong officers thought about themselves and their work as police. But it seems that experiences of policing the POEs are filtered through (a) their identities as police officers and (b) relationships within the police organisation. Negative outcomes are much more likely to emerge when they feel that organisational structures and processes are unfair, that they do not have the support of their peers, and when a positive sense of self-legitimacy is replaced by a cynical outlook on police work. Policies that mitigate such experiences are therefore likely to have positive effects not only for the individuals concerned (e.g. lower stress) but also, potentially, for wider police activity (e.g. more positive ideas about how policing should be conducted).

References

Blader S. and Tyler T. R. (2009). Testing and extending the group engagement model: Linkages between social identity, procedural justice, economic outcomes, and extrarole behavior. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 94*(2): 445–464.

Bowling, B., Reiner, R. and Sheptycki, J. (2019). *The Politics of the Police, 5th edition*. Oxford: OUP.

Bradford, B. and Quinton, P. (2014). Self-legitimacy, police culture and support for democratic policing in an English constabulary. *British journal of criminology*, *54*(6): 1023-1046. doi: 10.1093/bjc/azu053

Bradford, B., Quinton, P., Myhill, A. and Porter, G. (2014). Why do 'the law' comply? Procedural justice, group identification and officer motivation in police organizations, *European Journal of Criminology* 11(1): 110-131.

Bullock, K. and Garland, J. (2019). 'The organisation doesn't particularly consider itself responsible for you': organisational support for officers injured in the line of duty and organisational (in)justice. *Policing and Society.* Advance online publication. doi: 10.1080/10439463.2019.1606807

Colquitt, J. (2008). Two decades of organizational justice: Findings, controversies, and future directions. In: Cooper C and Barling J (eds) *The Sage Handbook of Organizational Behavior*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 73–88.

Greenberg, J. (2011). Organizational justice: The dynamics of fairness in the workplace. In: Sheldon Z (ed.) *APA Handbook of Industrial and Organizational Psychology, Vol. 3: Maintaining, Expanding, and Contracting the Organization*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 271–327.

Jonathan-Zamir, T. and Harpaz, A. (2018). Predicting support for procedurally just treatment: The case of the Israel National Police. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 45(6): 840-862. doi: 10.1177/0093854818763230

Nix, J. and Wolfe, S. E. (2017). The Impact of Negative Publicity on Police Self-legitimacy. *Justice Quarterly,* 34(1): 84-108. doi: 10.1080/07418825.2015.1102954

Tankebe, J. (2019). In their own eyes: an empirical examination of police self-legitimacy. *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice, 43*(2): 99-116. doi: 10.1080/01924036.2018.1487870

Trinkner, R., Tyler, T. R. and Goff, P. A. (2016). Justice from within: The relations between a procedurally just organizational climate and police organizational efficiency, endorsement of democratic policing, and officer well-being. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, 22(2): 158-172.

Tyler, T. R. (2011). *Why People Cooperate: The Role of Social Motivations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Wolfe, S. E. and Piquero, A. R. (2011). Organizational Justice and Police Misconduct. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, *38*(4): 332-353. doi: 10.1177/0093854810397739

Wolfe, S. E., Rojek, J., Manjarrez, V. M. and Rojek, A. (2018). Why does organizational justice matter? Uncertainty management among law enforcement officers. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 54: 20-29. doi: 10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2017.11.003

Wu, Y., Sun, I.Y., Kuang-Ming Chang, C. and Kuen-Lung Hsu, K. (2017) Procedural justice received and given. Supervisory treatment, emotional states, and Behavioral compliance among taiwanese Police officers. *Criminal Justice and Behavior 44*(7): 963–982.

Appendix Tables

Appendix Table 1

Thinking about everyday policing (i.e. the parts of your work not connected to the public order events), to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
It is a waste of time trying to help some members of the public we deal with (n=483)	3%	9%	18%	44%	27%
It is important to listen to members of the public and reflect their requirements in the way we police (n=485)	19%	40%	23%	13%	5%
It is valuable for us to try to understand the needs of the communities we police (n=483)	21%	54%	18%	5%	1%
Members of the public support the tactics we use in everyday policing (n=482)	15%	42%	26%	13%	4%
Members of the public think we usually go about the job in the right way (n=417)	17%	47%	23%	10%	3%

Appendix Table 2

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
How often do members of the public tell the truth when they are speaking to the police? (n=418)	2%	17%	59%	21%	1%
How often do members of the public seem to be friendly to the police? (n=418)	2%	21%	61%	16%	.

Appendix Table 3

Still thinking about your everyday police work (before the Anti-Extradition Bill Movement), on a scale ranging from extremely unfavourable to extremely favourable...

	Unfavourable (1 – 4)	Neutral (5-7)	Favourable (8-11)	Mean (SD)
How would you characterize your overall attitude toward members of the public living in Hong Kong? (n=418)	22%	53%	25%	6.04 (.10)
How would you characterize the attitude of members of the public toward Hong Kong Police? (n=418)	32%	48%	20%	5.51 (.11)

Appendix Table 4
Now thinking about the Public Order Events ("POEs") that have occurred since the Anti-Extradition Bill Movement started in June 2019, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Most members of the public in Hong Kong support the tactics we are using during the POEs (n=485)	7%	24%	37%	26%	6%
Most members of the public in Hong Kong think we are going about policing the POEs in the right way (n=483)	7%	30%	37%	21%	4%
Most members of the public in Hong Kong would oppose the use of more aggressive policing tactics during the POEs (n=484)	5%	24%	42%	24%	6%

Appendix Table 5
Thinking about the peaceful POEs that have occurred since June 2019, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
It is a waste of time trying to negotiate with protesters involved in the peaceful POEs (n=417)	13%	22%	32%	26%	6%
These peaceful protesters in peaceful POEs will only respond to aggressive policing tactics (n=417)	3%	12%	30%	29%	27%
During these peaceful POEs we should act to preserve order at any cost (n=485)	14%	28%	34%	21%	4%
Protesters involved in the peaceful POEs are doing what they think is justified (n=417)	16%	36%	28%	15%	5%
Police should work with these protesters to ensure peaceful protest is possible (n=415)	14%	44%	25%	11%	7%
It is important that police enable peaceful protest (n=484)	45%	38%	12%	4%	1%
These peaceful protesters are demonstrating a lack of respect for the law (n=484)	28%	33%	27%	10%	2%

Appendix Table 6
Still thinking about the peaceful POEs and violent demonstrations, on a scale ranging from extremely unfavourable to extremely favourable...

	Unfavourable (1 – 4)	Neutral (5-7)	Favourable (8-11)	Mean (SD)
How would you characterize your overall attitude toward people involved in the peaceful POEs? (n=417)	40%	44%	15%	5.08 (.12)
How would you characterize attitudes toward Hong Kong Police among people involved in the peaceful POEs? (n=414)	50%	43%	7%	4.41 (.11)
How would you characterize your overall attitude toward people involved in the violent demonstrations? (n=414)	84%	15%	1%	2.33 (.09)
How would you characterize attitudes toward Hong Kong Police among people involved in the violent demonstrations? (n=410)	83%	15%	2%	2.34 (.10)

Appendix Table 7
Now thinking about the violent demonstrations that have occurred since June 2019, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
It is a waste of time trying to negotiate with protesters involved in the violent demonstrations (n=485)	44%	25%	20%	10%	1%
These violent protesters will only respond to aggressive policing tactics in violent demonstrations (n=416)	7%	10%	17%	23%	43%
During these violent demonstrations we should act to preserve order at any cost (n=484)	43%	25%	20%	10%	2%
Protesters involved in the violent demonstrations are doing what they think is justified (n=418)	30%	24%	19%	13%	14%
Police should work with these violent protesters to ensure peaceful protest is possible (n=416)	5%	17%	24%	20%	34%
These violent protesters are demonstrating a lack of respect for the law (n=483)	75%	15%	9%	1%	.

Appendix Table 8

Thinking about your general work as a police officer, excluding any work you have done policing the POEs since June 2019 …

	Never	Once	Twice	Three or four times	Five times or more
… how often, if at all, have you been involved in a verbal altercation with a member of the public? (n=484)	49%	12%	15%	12%	13%
… how often, if at all, have you had to use force during the execution of your duties? (n=484)	72%	14%	6%	4%	5%
… how often, if at all, have you been physically attacked during the execution of your duties? (n=484)	69%	11%	7%	3%	10%
… how often, if at all, have you been injured during the execution of your duties? (n=484)	81%	9%	6%	2%	2%

Appendix Table 9

And now thinking about the policing you have done connected to the POEs since June 2019, and excluding your normal duties…

	Never	Once	Twice	Three or four times	Five times or more
… how often, if at all, have you been involved in a verbal altercation with a protester? (n=485)	50%	13%	12%	8%	17%
… how often, if at all, have you had to use force while policing the POEs? (n=485)	68%	11%	8%	4%	9%
… how often, if at all, have you been physically attacked while policing the POEs? (n=485)	64%	10%	7%	5%	14%
… how often, if at all, have you been injured while policing the POEs? (n=484)	80%	8%	6%	2%	4%

Appendix Table 10
Now turning to your relations with your colleagues and the Hong Kong police as a whole, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I agree with other police officers' views (n=484)	26%	49%	23%	2%	.
Being a police officer is important to who I am (n=418)	46%	35%	14%	3%	1%
I am glad I am a police officer (n=484)	40%	33%	16%	7%	3%
I feel strong ties with other police officers (n=485)	34%	50%	14%	2%	.

Appendix Table 11
Turning to your relationships with your colleagues, how often do you feel that …

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
… you are supported by your fellow officers (n=485)	1%	2%	14%	51%	31%
… your colleagues trust you (n=485)	.	2%	12%	54%	32%
… that you can trust your colleagues (n=484)	.	3%	17%	54%	26%
… there is good communication within your team (n=484)	1%	5%	19%	50%	25%

Appendix Table 12
How often does your immediate supervisor do the following?

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
Listen to my opinions about decisions that affect me (n=483)	2%	10%	34%	42%	12%
Makes decisions that are based on the facts (n=482)	1%	6%	27%	45%	21%
Treats me with respect (n=484)	1%	5%	23%	47%	24%
Gives the reasons for the decisions they have taken (n=485)	4%	13%	29%	41%	13%

Appendix Table 13
Thinking about your work load and pay, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I am rewarded fairly for the work that I do (n=484)	5%	28%	30%	23%	15%
The amount of work I am expected to do is fair (n=484)	6%	27%	29%	26%	13%

Appendix Table 14
Now thinking about what it's been like at work since the POEs (the Anti-Extradition Bill Movement) started in June, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I have had to work too much (n=485)	21%	39%	29%	8%	2%
The force has pulled together to deal with the situation (n=485)	15%	36%	29%	14%	5%
The force has done its best to deal with the pressures placed on the police (n=418)	5%	24%	37%	25%	9%
The extra work involved has been fairly distributed across the organization (n=485)	4%	25%	41%	20%	9%
I have been ordered to engage in policing activity that made me feel uncomfortable (n=485)	5%	17%	34%	32%	12%

Appendix Table 15
Thinking a bit more about what it is like to be a police officer, how often, if at all, do you feel the following ways about yourself and your work?

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
I have confidence in the authority vested in me as a police officer (n=483)	1%	7%	23%	43%	25%
As a police officer, I occupy a position of special meaning in society (n=483)	1%	5%	26%	38%	29%
People should always do what I tell them as long as my orders are lawful (n=483)	4%	12%	37%	29%	19%
I am confident that I have enough authority to do my job well (n=483)	4%	14%	36%	30%	16%

I believe the police are capable of providing security for everyone living in Hong Kong (n=483)	2%	10%	34%	34%	19%

Appendix Table 16
Please imagine you are now in a normal policing context. Police officers have different ways of thinking about how the job should be done. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Police need to take the time to explain decisions to members of the public (n=480)	9%	37%	34%	15%	4%
We should allow members of the public to voice their opinions when we make decisions that affect them (n=481)	6%	42%	42%	7%	1%
We should treat everyone with the same level of respect regardless of how they behave (n=480)	14%	41%	28%	12%	5%
Police should respect the rights of members of the public regardless of whether they have broken the law (n=481)	13%	46%	25%	10%	6%
In normal policing contexts, police should use all lawful means when they know someone is clearly guilty of breaking the law (n=478)	48%	38%	13%	1%	.
In normal policing contexts, the ends justify the means when we know someone is clearly guilty of breaking the law (n=481)	14%	24%	33%	24%	6%
In normal policing contexts, the police should use more physical force to control members of the public (n=482)	9%	19%	41%	27%	5%
The police should be allowed to use greater force to deal with violent situations (n=481)	46%	31%	20%	2%	1%

Appendix Table 17

... taking everything into account, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about your work as a police officer?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I would not consider taking another job (n=481)	33%	30%	22%	11%	4%
I like my job better than the average police officer does (n=481)	20%	36%	35%	6%	3%
I am satisfied with my job as a police officer (n=480)	26%	38%	22%	11%	4%

Appendix Table 18

Could you now tell us how often you feel each of the following emotions or feelings while you are at work since the Anti-Extradition Bill Movement started in June 2019?

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
Tense or uptight (n=481)	6%	22%	46%	19%	7%
Angry (n=482)	5%	8%	43%	29%	14%
Calm and at ease (n=481)	4%	20%	51%	21%	5%
Inspired (n=482)	5%	18%	50%	21%	5%
Afraid (n=482)	18%	30%	39%	10%	3%
Upset (n=482)	6%	10%	42%	31%	12%
Enthusiastic (n=481)	12%	36%	39%	10%	2%
Frustrated (n=482)	9%	12%	43%	26%	11%

Appendix Table 19

Now thinking about your life outside work since the Anti-Extradition Bill Movement began in June 2019, how often have you done the following things?

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
Return home from work too physically exhausted to properly talk to your spouse and/or children? (n=480)	7%	11%	29%	33%	20%
Find yourself treating your family as you treat suspects? (n=481)	58%	24%	16%	2%	.
Stay away from people because you just wanted to be left alone? (n=481)	16%	23%	39%	15%	8%

Appendix Table 20
Results from three linear regression models predicting cynicism, police identity and self-legitimacy

	Cynicism		Identity		Sef-legitimacy	
	b	se(b)	b	se(b)	b	se(b)
Age	0	0	-0.01*	0	-0.01+	0
Gender (ref: male)						
Female	-0.03	0.1	-0.09	0.08	-0.03	0.09
Rank (ref: PC)						
SGT	-0.14	0.1	0.12	0.08	0.23**	0.09
Higher Rank	-0.55**	0.16	0.08	0.13	0.14	0.14
Supervisory procedural justice	-0.14**	0.05	0.08*	0.04	0.16**	0.04
Distributive justice	-0.06	0.04	0.08**	0.03	0.06*	0.03
Peer support	0.01	0.04	0.22**	0.04	0.17**	0.04
Experience of force, injury (everyday policing)	0.06	0.05	-0.01	0.04	-0.07	0.04
Time spend on policing POEs	0	0	0	0	0	0
Experience of force, injury (POE policing)	0.01	0.05	0.07+	0.04	0.05	0.04
Feeling overworked during POEs (neither/nor)						
Agree	-0.06	0.08	0	0.07	-0.03	0.07
Disagree	-0.06	0.13	-0.18+	0.1	-0.01	0.11
Ordered to discomforting activity during POEs (ref: neither/nor)						
Agree	-0.01	0.09	-0.07	0.08	-0.17*	0.08
Disagree	0.03	0.08	0.09	0.07	0.11	0.07
Public support everyday policing tactics (ref: neither/nor)						
Agree	-0.1	0.09	0.06	0.07	0.02	0.08
Disagree	0.42**	0.11	0.16+	0.09	-0.13	0.09
Public support for POE policing	-0.04	0.04	0.24**	0.03	0.17**	0.04
Peaceful protestors lack respect for the law (ref: neither/nor)						
Agree	0.05	0.08	0.21**	0.07	0.04	0.07
Disagree	-0.13	0.12	-0.05	0.1	0.15	0.11
Constant	2.61**	0.21	3.00**	0.17	2.93**	0.18
R^2	0.19		0.37		0.38	
n	463		463		461	

+ p<.1, * p<.05, ** p<.01

Appendix Table 21

Results from a series of liner regression models predicting self-reported stress

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	b	se(b)	b	se(b)	b	se(b)	b	se(b)	b	se(b)
Age	0	0	0	0	-0.01	0	-0.01	0	-0.01+	0
Gender (ref: male)										
Female	0.11	-0.1	0.11	-0.1	0.09	-0.1	0.1	-0.1	0.1	-0.1
Rank (ref: PC)										
SGT	-0.05	-0.09	-0.04	-0.1	-0.03	-0.09	0	-0.09	0.01	-0.09
Higher Rank	0.09	-0.15	0.13	-0.16	0.1	-0.15	0.12	-0.15	0.14	-0.15
Supervisory procedural justice	-0.08+	-0.05	-0.07	-0.05	-0.06	-0.05	-0.04	-0.05	-0.03	-0.05
Distributive justice	-0.13**	-0.03	-0.13**	-0.04	-0.12**	-0.03	-0.12**	-0.03	-0.11**	-0.03
Peer support	-0.02	-0.04	-0.02	-0.04	0.03	-0.04	0.02	-0.04	0.04	-0.04
Experience of force, injury (everyday policing)	0.01	-0.05	0.01	-0.05	0.01	-0.05	-0.01	-0.05	-0.01	-0.05
Time spent on policing POEs	-0.01+	0	-0.01+	0	-0.01+	0	-0.01	0	-0.01	0
Experience of force, injury (POE policing)	0.02	-0.05	0.02	-0.05	0.04	-0.05	0.03	-0.05	0.04	-0.05
Feeling overworked during POEs (neither/nor)										
Agree	0.11	-0.08	0.12	-0.08	0.11	-0.08	0.11	-0.08	0.11	-0.08
Disagree	-0.14	-0.12	-0.14	-0.12	-0.18	-0.12	-0.14	-0.12	-0.17	-0.12
Discomforting activity during POEs (ref: neither/nor)										
Agree	0.06	-0.09	0.06	-0.09	0.04	-0.09	0.02	-0.09	0.02	-0.09
Disagree	-0.19*	-0.08	-0.19*	-0.08	-0.17*	-0.08	-0.16*	-0.08	-0.16*	-0.08
Public support everyday policing tactics (ref: neither/nor)										
Agree	0.1	-0.08	0.11	-0.08	0.11	-0.08	0.11	-0.08	0.12	-0.08
Disagree	0.22*	-0.1	0.19+	-0.1	0.25*	-0.1	0.19+	-0.1	0.20+	-0.1
Public support for POE policing	-0.12**	-0.04	-0.12**	-0.04	-0.07+	-0.04	-0.08*	-0.04	-0.06	-0.04
Peaceful protestors lack respect for the law (ref: neither/nor)										
Agree	0.01	-0.08	0	-0.08	0.05	-0.08	0.02	-0.08	0.04	-0.08
Disagree	0.07	-0.12	0.08	-0.12	0.06	-0.12	0.1	-0.12	0.09	-0.12
Cynicism			0.07	-0.05					0.03	-0.05
Identity					-0.20**	-0.06			-0.14*	-0.06
Self-legitimacy							-0.22**	-0.05	-0.17**	-0.05
Constant	3.89**	-0.2	3.72**	-0.24	4.49**	-0.26	4.53**	-0.25	4.73**	-0.32
R^2	463		463		463		461		461	
n	0.21		0.22		0.23		0.24		0.25	

+ p<.1, * p<.05, ** p<.01

Appendix Table 22

Results from a series of regression models predicting self-reported commitment to procedural justice in policing

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	b	se(b)	b	se(b)	b	se(b)	b	se(b)	b	se(b)
Age	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gender (ref: male)										
Female	-0.06	0.09	-0.07	0.08	-0.05	0.09	-0.05	0.09	-0.06	0.08
Rank (ref: PC)										
SGT	0.04	0.09	-0.01	0.08	0.02	0.09	0.01	0.09	-0.02	0.08
Higher Rank	0.32*	0.14	0.13	0.13	0.31*	0.14	0.30*	0.14	0.12	0.13
Supervosry procedural justice	0.16**	0.04	0.11**	0.04	0.15**	0.04	0.14**	0.04	0.10*	0.04
Distributive justice	0.06+	0.03	0.04	0.03	0.05	0.03	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.03
Peer support	-0.02	0.04	-0.01	0.04	-0.04	0.04	-0.04	0.04	-0.03	0.04
Experience of force, injury (everyday policing)	-0.01	0.04	0.01	0.04	-0.01	0.04	0	0.04	0.01	0.04
Time spent policing POEs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Experience of force, injury (POE policing)	-0.04	0.05	-0.03	0.04	-0.05	0.05	-0.05	0.05	-0.04	0.04
Feeling overworked during POEs (neither/nor)										
Agree	-0.05	0.07	-0.07	0.07	-0.05	0.07	-0.05	0.07	-0.07	0.07
Disagree	0.12	0.11	0.1	0.1	0.14	0.11	0.12	0.11	0.11	0.1
Discomforting activity during POEs (ref: neither/nor)										
Agree	0.03	0.08	0.03	0.08	0.04	0.08	0.06	0.08	0.05	0.08
Disagree	0.04	0.07	0.06	0.07	0.03	0.07	0.03	0.07	0.05	0.07
Public support everyday policing tactics (ref: neither/nor)										
Agree	0.06	0.08	0.03	0.07	0.05	0.08	0.06	0.08	0.03	0.07
Disagree	-0.12	0.09	0.02	0.09	-0.14	0.09	-0.11	0.09	0.02	0.09
Public support for POE policing	-0.06+	0.04	-0.08*	0.03	-0.09*	0.04	-0.09*	0.04	-0.10**	0.04
Peaceful protestors lack respect for the law (ref: neither/nor)										
Agree	0.04	0.07	0.05	0.07	0.01	0.07	0.03	0.07	0.04	0.07
Disagree	0.12	0.11	0.07	0.1	0.12	0.11	0.1	0.11	0.06	0.1
Cynicism			-0.35**	0.04					-0.33**	0.04
Identity					0.11*	0.05			0.04	0.05
Self-legitimacy							0.14**	0.05	0.07	0.05
Constant	3.33**	0.19	4.24**	0.2	3.01**	0.24	2.94**	0.23	3.88**	0.28
R^2	0.121		0.253		0.129		0.137		0.259	
n	462		462		462		460		460	

+ p<.1, * p<.05, ** p<.01

Appendix Table 23

Results from a series of regression models predicting job satisfaction

Results from a series of regression models predicting job satisfaction

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	b	se(b)	b	se(b)	b	se(b)	b	se(b)	b	se(b)
Age	0.01+	0	0.01+	0	0.01**	0	0.01**	0	0.01**	0
Gender (ref: male)										
Female	-0.02	0.1	-0.03	0.1	0.03	0.09	0	0.1	0.04	0.09
Rank (ref: PC)										
SGT	0.23*	0.1	0.22*	0.1	0.16+	0.09	0.12	0.09	0.09	0.08
Higher Rank	0.08	0.16	0.03	0.16	0.03	0.14	0.01	0.15	-0.01	0.14
Supervisory procedural justice	0.13**	0.05	0.12*	0.05	0.08+	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.04	0.04
Distributive justice	0.15**	0.04	0.14**	0.04	0.10**	0.03	0.12**	0.03	0.09**	0.03
Peer support	0.25**	0.04	0.25**	0.04	0.12**	0.04	0.17**	0.04	0.08*	0.04
Experience of force, injury (everyday policing)	-0.02	0.05	-0.02	0.05	-0.01	0.04	0.01	0.05	0.01	0.04
Time spent policing POEs	0.01*	0	0.01*	0	0.01*	0	0.01+	0	0.01*	0
Experience of force, injury (POE policing)	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.05	-0.01	0.05	0.02	0.05	-0.01	0.04
Feeling overworked during POEs (neither/nor)										
Agree	-0.08	0.08	-0.09	0.08	-0.08	0.07	-0.07	0.08	-0.07	0.07
Disagree	0.05	0.13	0.04	0.13	0.15	0.11	0.05	0.12	0.14	0.11
Discomforting activity during POEs (ref: neither/nor)										
Agree	-0.18+	0.1	-0.18+	0.1	-0.14	0.08	-0.1	0.09	-0.09	0.08
Disagree	0.11	0.08	0.11	0.08	0.06	0.07	0.05	0.08	0.03	0.07
Public support everyday policing tactics (ref: neither/nor)										
Agree	0	0.09	-0.01	0.09	-0.03	0.08	-0.01	0.08	-0.04	0.07
Disagree	-0.07	0.11	-0.04	0.11	-0.17+	0.09	-0.02	0.1	-0.11	0.09
Public support for POE policing	0.22**	0.04	0.21**	0.04	0.07+	0.04	0.14**	0.04	0.04	0.04
Peaceful protestors lack respect for the law (ref: neither/nor)										
Agree	0.06	0.08	0.06	0.08	-0.07	0.07	0.04	0.08	-0.06	0.07
Disagree	-0.11	0.12	-0.12	0.12	-0.09	0.11	-0.18	0.11	-0.14	0.1
Cynicism			-0.08+	0.05					0	0.04
Identity					0.60**	0.05			0.50**	0.05
Self-legitimacy							0.47**	0.05	0.33**	0.05
Constant	2.39**	0.21	2.60**	0.25	0.57*	0.24	1.03**	0.25	-0.09	0.29
R^2	0.39		0.4		0.53		0.49		0.58	
n	463		463		463		461		461	

+ p<.1, * p<.05, ** p<.01